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OF THE
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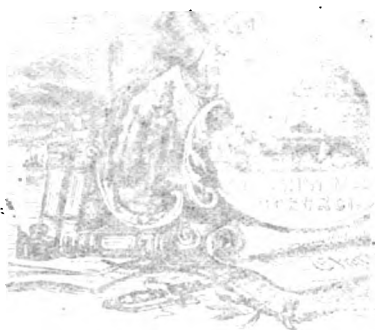
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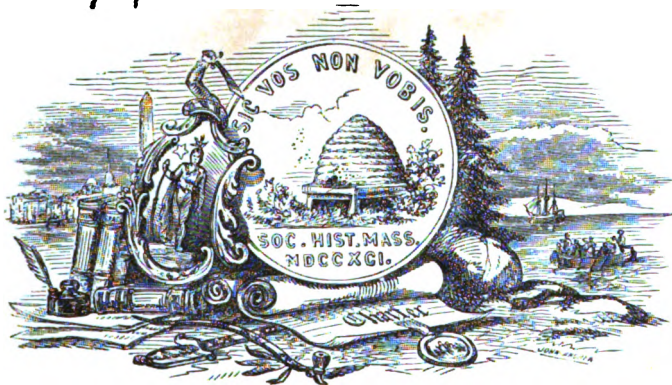
OF THE

Massachusetts Historical Society.

1866-1867.

Published at the Charge of the Peabody Fund.

973



BOSTON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY,

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THIS volume contains a selection from the Proceedings of the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, beginning with the stated monthly meeting in January, 1866, and ending with the stated monthly meeting in March, 1867.

The original manuscripts used in the preparation of the Memoir of Mr. QUINCY, and the engraved portrait, included in this volume, were generously furnished by his daughter, Eliza Susan Quincy. The engraving may be regarded as a good representation of the portrait of Mr. Quincy, painted by Wight, and presented to this Society by the "Class of 1829" of Harvard College; though the engraver was chiefly guided by excellent daguerrotypes from life,—the same from which the painter also had derived assistance.

A portrait of the distinguished Honorary Member of the Society, GEORGE PEABODY, LL.D., is placed at the beginning of this volume,—the first volume published at the charge of the "Peabody Fund." The proceedings of the meeting at which the letter of Mr.

Peabody was announced, presenting to the Society the sum of TWENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS, (as a fund for printing the "Proceedings," and for preserving the Historical Portraits belonging to the Society,) and the resolutions and remarks thereupon, may be seen on page 438, under the date of January, 1867.

C. D.,

For the Committee of Publication.

Boston, November 1, 1867.

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MEMBERS DECEASED.

Resident, Honorary, and Corresponding Members who have died since the publication of the last volume of Proceedings, June 1, 1866; or of whose death information has been received since that date: —

Resident.

Thomas H. Webb, M.D.
George R. Russell, LL.D.
Rev. William Jenks, D.D.

Lucius M. Sargent, A.M.
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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

JANUARY MEETING, 1866.

A STATED monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, Jan. 11, at eleven o'clock; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the American Philosophical Society; the Boston Society of Natural History; the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; the Library of Congress; the New-England Historic-Genealogical Society; the New-England Loyal Publication Society; the New-Hampshire Historical Society; the Publishers of the "Right Way"; Mr. F. W. Ballard; Edward Breck, Esq.; Henry B. Dawson, Esq.; Mr. John W. Dean; Evert A. Duyckinck, Esq.; Mr. S. D. Hosmer; Benj. P. Johnson, Esq.; Mr. James S. Loring; Rev. Elias Nason; Captain Charlemagne Tower; Wm. W. Wheildon, Esq.; Hon. William Willis; Mrs. Joseph E. Worcester; and from Messrs. Bartlet, Green, Law-

rence, Metcalf, C. Robbins, E. H. Sears, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter of acceptance from Evert A. Duyckinck, Esq., of New York, who had been elected a Corresponding Member. Mr. Duyckinck, in the same communication, stated that he had sent to the Society a copy of the new edition of his "Cyclopædia of American Literature."

Whereupon it was *Voted*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Duyckinck for this gift.

The President read a letter from Stephen H. Bullard, Esq., the Executor under the will of the late Miss Elizabeth Belknap, stating that, at the request of her niece, Mrs. Jane Marcou, he had sent as a gift to the Society a portrait of her grandfather, the late Dr. Jeremy Belknap.

Mr. Folsom inquired if the portrait was supposed to have been painted during the lifetime of Dr. Belknap; and called attention to the fact, that among the volumes introduced by the painter into the picture was the second volume of the "American Biography," which was not published until after Dr. Belknap's death. The name of the artist was also on the back of another book, thus, "Painted by H. Sargent, 1798."

Dr. ELLIS said he well remembered the portrait, having often seen it hanging in one of the apartments in the house of the late John Belknap. He had always understood that the picture was in process of painting when Dr. Belknap died.

Mr. SIBLEY suggested that some light might be thrown upon the question as to the time when this portrait was painted, or whether it was an original picture, by ascer-

taining whence came the portrait of Dr. Belknap, now hanging in the Librarian's room, which strongly resembles this.

Mr. SAVAGE said he well recollected the appearance of Dr. Belknap, and regarded this portrait as an excellent likeness.

Mr. FOLSOM expressed the hope that the Society might revive its intention of publishing, from Dr. Belknap's manuscripts in the possession of the Society, a memorial volume of him; and he took occasion to speak of Dr. Belknap as one of the best writers our country had produced.

Dr. ELLIS hoped the Society would print a volume of Proceedings, prepared from its earliest records, embodying in it such historical memorials from the recollection of the older surviving members as can be collected, which together would serve to secure to us the early history of the Society.

In view of the preparation of such a volume, which for some time had been under contemplation, Dr. Ellis, on the motion of Dr. ROBBINS, was added to the Committee on the publication of the Proceedings, with special reference to this subject.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Mrs. Marcou, for the valuable present of the portrait of her grandfather, Dr. Belknap.

The President spoke of the death of three of the Corresponding Members of the Society as follows:—

Colonel James D. Graham, of the United-States Corps of Engineers, died suddenly in this city, on the 28th of December last. He had been one of our Corresponding Members for

twenty years, and during the last eighteen months had attended several of our meetings. He was a native of Virginia, but had remained loyal to the Union during the late rebellion; and, though too infirm to take the field, had rendered valuable services to the country in connection with the harbor improvements of the Atlantic coast. For the last year and a half, he had been in charge of the work for the preservation of Boston Harbor, and in that relation had won the special confidence and respect of our city authorities. His services to the country, in running out the North-eastern boundary under the Ashburton and Webster Treaty, were of the highest value. Stationed for many years on the Lakes, he took a leading part in the transactions of the Chicago Historical Society; and his acquirements and accomplishments had given him an enviable position among scientific men in all parts of the land.

In San Francisco, on the 18th of December, died the Hon. Matthew Hall McAllister, who had also been for many years on the roll of our Corresponding Members. He was a native of Georgia, and in 1827 was selected by President John Quincy Adams as the District Attorney of the United States for the State of Georgia, at a moment when the controversy between that State and the general Government, in regard to the Indian Lands, required a man of peculiar fearlessness and firmness. Mr. McAllister was true to the Union then, as he was afterwards in the days of South Carolina Nullification. In 1855 he was sent to California as the judge of the United-States Circuit Court; and he devoted himself, with untiring industry, to the arduous duties of this office. The failure of his health prevented his taking any part in the more recent affairs of the country, and he had been compelled to retire from all public service several years before his decease.

The death of still another of our Corresponding Members has been brought to my knowledge within a few days past. Mr. Israel K. Tefft, of Savannah, Georgia, died a few years

since, while our relations to the Southern States were too much disturbed to allow of our hearing what was occurring within their borders from day to day. Mr. Tefft was well known as the owner of a very large and interesting collection of historical autograph letters, which he had procured at great cost, and arranged with great care, and which has probably few equals in our country.*

In connection with the notice of the death of Mr. Tefft, the President read a letter from Mr. M. P. Kennard, of this city, stating that Mrs. Tefft was desirous of disposing of the large and valuable collection of autographs left by her husband, either to the Massachusetts Historical Society or to the Boston Athenæum; that the collection numbers upwards of thirty-five thousand; that Mrs. Tefft nominally valued them at from \$15,000 to \$20,000; that she was now, in her old age, left well-nigh penniless, from the effects of the war.

The President stated that he understood that the collection, if bought entire, could be purchased for \$10,000.

Mr. DEANE exhibited an early map of the harbor of Boston, in a mutilated condition. The date is wanting, but he thought it the original from which subsequent maps of the harbor had been made for a number of years. It was called "A New Suruey of the Harbour of Boston in New England. — Done by order of the Prin-

* At a meeting of the Georgia Historical Society, held July 14th, 1862, resolutions of respect to the memory of I. K. Tefft, Esq., its first and only Corresponding Secretary, and one of its earliest and most devoted friends and patrons, were presented and passed. It is stated that he died on the 30th of June, 1862. He was born in the town of Smithfield, Rhode Island, on the 12th of February, 1794. He lost his father at the age of four years. He received his academic education in Boston. In 1816 he went to Savannah; and in 1821 became editor and proprietor of the "Savannah Georgian" newspaper, jointly with Henry James Finn. He was elected Cashier of the Bank of the State of Georgia in 1848, and filled that position to the time of his decease. — Eds.

cipall Officers and Comissioners of His Ma^{ties} Navy, and sold by George Grierson at the two bibles in Essex Street, Dublin." Mr. Deane conjectured its date to be somewhere from 1730 to 1740. He remarked that the earliest well-defined map of Boston Harbor, with the islands delineated, which had come under his observation, was the one in a corner of the map of New England, in Neal's "History of New England," published in 1720.

Dr. ROBBINS exhibited, and presented to the Society, a broadside proclamation of President Washington, dated January 1st, 1795, appointing Thursday, February 19th, as a day of public thanksgiving and prayer, "for the manifold and signal mercies which distinguish our lot as a nation," in "the suppression of the late insurrection," &c.

Mrs. Worcester, of Cambridge, presented to the Society, through Mr. Folsom, a number of volumes of the Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London, to complete the series to the present time; the former volumes having been given last year by her husband, our late esteemed member, Dr. Worcester.

Mr. FOLSOM also called the attention of members to the large number of volumes upon the table, relating to the history of the late Rebellion, which had been selected for the Society by Dr. Green, and presented by our associate, Mr. Lawrence.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Lawrence, for this valuable addition to the Library of the Society; and to Dr. Green, for his agency in procuring the books.

The thanks of the Society were also presented to Mrs. Worcester for the volumes presented by her.

The President communicated a number of Confederate bonds, which had been sent to him for the Society by Major-General Benham, of the United-States Army.

The President read a paper, which had been handed to him by Mr. Deane, purporting to be a list of the authors of the lives in Sanderson's "Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence." The list appears to have been published in the "Daily Cincinnati Gazette," of August 11th, 1827, which paper credits it to the "New-York Times."

The President read the following letters from the Hon. Rufus King, then a member of the Congress of the Confederation, from Massachusetts, — one addressed to "His Excellency Gov^r Bowdoin," and one to Elbridge Gerry, Mr. King's colleague in the same Congress: —

Rufus King to Governor Bowdoin.

NEW YORK, May 18, 1786.

SIR, — The revival of the Newfoundland bill in the late session of Parliament, and the renewal of the Act vesting in the King in Council the regulation of the intercourse between the United States and his dominions, is satisfactory evidence to every impartial man, that Great Britain will not enter into a commercial treaty with this country; and that, if the accomplishment of that measure is the only object of the residence of a Minister at London, Mr. Adams may be recalled without farther delay or disappointment.

These Acts are for one year; and if, during that term, the States of America continue as destitute of an union of measures as they have remained since the peace, they will probably be made perpetual. Unless the fear of a rival in America induces the British Government to relax their Navigation Acts, no other motive will; for in fact the effect of every project of a commercial treaty must be an alteration of the laws of navigation.

The present Ministry are unquestionably against a treaty: indeed, were they well disposed to treat, they would not dare do it without the approbation of Parliament. *There* the measure would find few or no advocates; the nation is wedded to their ancient regulations; and the prejudices of the kingdom are so much in favor of the navigation laws, that he must be a bold Minister who should propose an alteration.

It is said, however, and from probable authority, that the nation would have relaxed their laws in favor of the United Netherlands, could they thereby have prevented the defensive alliance between them and the King of France. But the party of the Prince of Orange, together with a corrupt attempt of the English Minister, failed; and the alliance was concluded in November last.

It was thought that this alliance would have disposed the British Ministry to measures of friendship with our country; and that, apprehensive that the United States might become a party in this combination, they would not readily deny or refuse to evacuate the ports now possessed in America, in contravention of the treaty. In pursuance of this idea, and under instructions for that purpose, Mr. Adams made a demand for an evacuation and surrender; and, in February, Lord Carmarthen delivered to Mr. Adams the answer of the King, which declares His Majesty's firm determination to abide by, and carry into full and complete effect, every part of the definitive treaty of peace between His Majesty and the United States; but remarks, that it cannot be expected that His Majesty will carry the same into effect, unless he discovers a disposition in the United States in like manner to abide by and execute the same; that the fourth article of the treaty stipulates that no legal impediments shall be opposed to the recovery of the *bonâ fide* debts of British creditors, but that laws exist in many of the American States which are interpreted by their respective judicatories legal impediments to such recovery; that so long as these impediments remain, in violation of the treaty on the part of the United States, they have no right to require a full compliance therewith on the part of His Majesty; but that His Majesty will unequivocally execute the same as soon as he has ascertained that a similar disposition prevails in the United States.

An abstract of the laws of the several States which are said to be in violation of the treaty, was delivered by Lord Carmarthen to Mr. Adams, and by this Minister transmitted to Congress. No acts of any of the four New-England States are complained of, except the act of Massachusetts, passed in 1784, relative to interest. This, however, is

not truly stated; and, as it exists, cannot be construed in contravention of the treaty.

It is a pleasing reflection, that nothing is charged against any of the States on the subject of the refugees. This silence tends to evince the truth of the construction which has been contended for by many persons in America, that the clauses in the treaty relative to a restitution of their property and their residence within the States are merely recommendatory, and not absolute.

The foregoing communications are considered as of the first political importance. I have written in much haste; but, judging the information necessary, I have thought it my duty to transmit it to you as first magistrate of our Commonwealth. *My remarks* are totally unnecessary. One truth is most obvious, "that the happiness, prosperity, and safety of our country must depend upon the united systems and exertions of the several States, and not on the separate arrangements of individual States, or the kindness, favor, or friendship of foreign nations."

Mr. Gorham informs me that he shall write to you in answer to your last. I will do myself the honor to inform your excellency by the next post of the condition of the negotiation for procuring peace from the States of Barbary.

With perfect respect, I have the honor to be your Excellency's obedient and very humble servant,

RUFUS KING.

His Excellency Governor BOWDOIN.

Rufus King to Elbridge Gerry.

NEW YORK, June 4, 1786.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — I have long entertained doubts concerning the line of conduct which Congress ought to pursue relative to the territory of the United States north-west of the Ohio; and am every day more confirmed in the opinion, that no paper engagements or stipulations can be formed which will insure a durable connection between the Atlantic States and those which will be erected to the westward of the Appalachian or Alleghany Mountains, provided the Mississippi is immediately opened. The pursuits and interests of the people on the two sides will be so different, and probably so opposite, that an entire separation must eventually ensue. This consequence appears to me so obvious, that I very much doubt whether the United States would ever receive a penny of revenue from the inhabitants who may settle the Western territory.

Should there be an uninterrupted use of the Mississippi at this time by the citizens of the United States, I should consider every emigrant to that country from the Atlantic States as for ever lost to the confederacy. Perhaps I am in an error; but, when men have no interest in an union inconvenient to them in many points, I can discover no principle which will attach them to such a connection. I know not what advantages the inhabitants of the Western territory would acquire by becoming members of our confederacy. They would want no protection; their local situation would sufficiently secure them from all foreign hostility; their exchange of merchandise or commerce would not be across the Appalachian Mountains, but wholly confined to the Mississippi.

If these conjectures are just, in true policy, ought the United States to be very assiduous to encourage their citizens to become settlers of the country beyond the Appalachian? The object of Congress appears hitherto to have been a sale of this country for the sinking of the domestic debt: the immediate extinguishment of this debt is certainly a very important consideration, but it has its price.

Suppose that a treaty could be formed between Spain and the United States upon principles of exact reciprocity, so that the citizens of the latter might introduce into the European and African dominions of the former all sorts of goods and merchandise, upon the same terms on which the subjects of Spain could introduce the same articles; and, on the other hand, that the subjects of Spain might import into any of the United States all sorts of goods and merchandise, upon the same terms as the citizens of the United States could introduce the same. Suppose farther, that the treaty should stipulate that all the masts, spars, timber, &c., &c., wanted for the national marine of Spain, should be purchased and paid for in the United States with specie, provided the quality of the materials equalled that of the same articles in other countries.

Suppose yet farther, that the Philippine Islands should be opened to the American ships and commerce, and of consequence the gold and silver of Acapulco put within their reach.

Add to the foregoing, an article in the treaty, not to relinquish the right to the free navigation of the Mississippi, *but "stipulating that the United States should forbear to use the navigation of the Mississippi for twenty or twenty-five years."*

Would not such a treaty be of vast importance to the Atlantic States, particularly to the Eastern division of them? Would not the

fish, flour, and other products of the United States, acquire thereby a manifest superiority in Spain over similar commodities of any other country? Would not the conventional forbearance of the use of the Mississippi implicate most strongly the right of the United States, independent of the convention or treaty? If these queries are answered in the affirmative, what objection is there on the part of the United States to conclude such a treaty?

This question brings into view the plan of extinguishing the domestic debt by the sale of the Western territory, the system whereby it is proposed to govern the people who shall settle westward of the Alleghany Mountains and within the United States, and the ability of the United States at this time to contend with Spain in vindicating their right to the free use and navigation of the Mississippi.

I am very sensible that the popular opinion throughout the United States is in favor of the free navigation of the Mississippi, and that the reasons must be strong and important which can successfully oppose this opinion. I am also fully sensible, that the free navigation of that river will hereafter be of vast importance to the inhabitants within the territories of the United States. Yet admitting, what will not be denied, that Spain will on no condition agree that any people except those of their own nation shall navigate the Mississippi, are the United States in a condition to assert their right? If you answer this question as I should (*believing, as I do*, that a war with Spain, France, or England would terminate in the loss of the fisheries, and the restriction of boundaries, perhaps by Kennebec on one part, and the Appalachian Mountains on the other), is there any substantial objection against an article in a treaty with Spain relative to the Mississippi, such as is alluded to? If it is a consent to what we cannot alter, considering other benefits to be obtained, it must be wisdom thus to consent.

But how will this article affect the sale of the Western territory? The answer which the delegates of Virginia (all of whom probably are deeply interested in the Ohio or Kentucky lands) would give, is, that the value of the country west of the Alleghany Mountains depends in a high degree upon the opening of the Mississippi. *Admit the fact.* It is denied that the United States can, under present circumstances, open that river to their citizens. If so, the value placed upon these lands, which depend upon the opening of the Mississippi, is an ideal value at this time. With men, therefore, who do not wish to involve the United States in a war against policy and sound reason, this objection is of little consideration. The lands perhaps will not produce

so much under the present circumstances of the Mississippi as they would if that river was open ; but, to all persons desirous of becoming settlers, they will sell for a handsome price, and go a good way in extinguishing the domestic debt.

But how will such an article affect the intercourse between the inhabitants of the Western territory and those of the Atlantic States ? In my judgment, very favorably. If the former are cut off for a time from any connections except with the old States across the mountains, I should not despair that a government might be instituted, so connecting them with the Atlantic States as would be highly beneficial to both, and promise a considerable duration.

But, my dear friend, after all, these are but speculative opinions ; and I am even doubtful of them when a variety of influential motives, which seem to promise well for my country, authorize my assent. I alluded to this subject in my last letter to you. I wish for your counsel. I wish the New-England States were here. I pray you to read these remarks with candor, and in confidence inform me of your opinion. If I had taken time and care to have expressed my sentiments on this subject, I would have requested you to have communicated this paper to your friend Governor Bowdoin, and prayed through you his advice.

I shall be brought to a decision on this question. Congress must determine. If Spain don't conclude a treaty with the United States, I think they will endeavor to guard against the evils they fear from us, by an intimate connection with Great Britain.

I am of a committee now in conference with the Secretary of Foreign Affairs on this subject. Spain wishes a treaty with the United States in preference to any other nation ; and there is no nation with whom the United States could form more beneficial treaties than with Spain and Portugal.

Spain will not give up the Mississippi. But I will not add. I write in great haste and in full confidence. If you are at Boston, and can consult Mr. Bowdoin, I should thank you to do it. I intended to have written to him relative to the Barbary treaties, but have not been able to find the time.

Adieu, yours affectionately,

R. KING.

Inform me of the receipt of this, and of my last.

Mr. GERRY.

Samuel Tymms, F.S.A., &c., Honorary Secretary and Treasurer to the Suffolk Institute of Archæology, presented to the Society, through the President, and in the name of the Institute, four numbers of the second volume of the "East Anglian."

Mr. HALE inquired if any of the members present had ever met with a reference to Tobacco, in the writings of Shakespeare. He said that he was about to state in print that no such reference could be found; and he should feel very awkwardly if, the next day after the publication of such a statement, some Shakespeare critic should send him a passage containing the word. Ralph Lane introduced Tobacco into England, from Virginia, about the time that Shakespeare is supposed to have taken up his residence in London. If both Shakespeare and Raleigh were members of "The Mermaid Club," the great dramatist must have seen Raleigh smoking there; and he thought it a curious fact, that while there was unmistakable reference to America in Shakespeare's writings, he could find no allusion to Tobacco.

Mr. Hale's remarks elicited considerable discussion among the members.

Colonel ASPINWALL stated that Virginia tobacco was not an article of commerce in Europe, till about 1614, its production having been discouraged by the Government; and it was therefore not a subject of general notice. He believed it was first known in the market as "Varina."

THE ORIGIN, ORGANIZATION, AND INFLUENCE OF THE TOWNS OF NEW ENGLAND.

BY PROFESSOR JOEL PARKER.

[The following paper was read at the meeting in December last; but, owing to the absence of the writer from the State when the Proceedings of that meeting were passing through the press, the printing of the paper was deferred:—]

It is interesting and instructive to contemplate the progress of the settlement of the different portions of the country; to note the differences which existed between the mode of settlement adopted in New England and in other districts; to inquire how the townships of New England came into existence, and perceive how largely they must have contributed to the success of the settlements; but, above all, to mark their influence, mainly exerted through their subsequent incorporation as towns, upon the social, political, moral, and religious character of the inhabitants. It will increase our veneration for our fathers, it will refresh our own patriotism.

The great principle upon which the settlement of New England had its inception, and which led to the establishment of the colony at Plymouth, was the desire of the Pilgrim Fathers to enjoy unmolested their religious opinions. There were two other principles upon which the settlement was projected, or which were soon after recognized, and which, in their tendency to promote the prosperity of the enterprise,

were secondary only to that of religious liberty: one, that the right of government should be secured to them by charters, conferring upon them powers for that purpose; the other, that the adventurers were severally to possess small freeholds in their own right.*

There were perhaps several reasons why the emigrants, in the first instance, were desirous of acquiring only a moderate portion of the territory. They could take possession of but a small strip of land on the seaboard, the necessity of mutual protection against Indian hostility obliging them to live in communities. They desired to encourage the emigration of all those who, like themselves, were suffering for conscience' sake. They had in view trade, rather than agriculture. And it may be added, that the religious and political principles of many of them alike forbade an attempt at the acquisition of feudal rights or manorial relations.

There were doubtless, also, several reasons why, in their grants and charters, they should have insisted upon the insertion of such articles as would enable them to make laws and ordinances for their own government, and provision for their own welfare. The necessity of a civil government of some kind was apparent. The impossibility that any government, administered by the Mother Country alone, should be adequate to their wants, must have been equally so. And, above all, the determination of the emigrants to be secure in their religious privileges, which security they well knew could not be attained except by the power of making their own regulations, was alone a sufficient reason.

In considering, therefore, the early history of New England, and tracing its prosperity through the hardships and toil and suffering and dangers which were endured by the early settlers, while great credit is due to the religious principle which actuated most of them, and too much praise can

* Morton's Memorial, Davis's ed., 1826. Appendix F, p. 362.

hardly be bestowed upon it, we should not overlook the other agencies to which I have thus referred; to wit, corporate municipal powers, and the subdivision of the land into small freeholds; which, if they grew out of, and were originally but consequences of, the religious sentiment, yet became of themselves powerful means in the promotion of the settlement and prosperity of the country.

Fervent as was the piety, and persistent as was the energy, of many of the early settlers, the religious principle could not have been maintained, impressing its character upon the opinions, manners, and habits of the people, had it not been for these other agencies. Had there been, in the early settlement of the country, colonial governors, appointed by the crown to enforce laws made by the Mother Country only, without a power of self-government, the ranks of the emigrants could not have been filled. And, had the country been granted in large tracts to single proprietors, who thereupon attempted to settle them as leaseholds, by a tenantry paying rents of money, grain, &c., the settlements of New England could have never proceeded with the rapidity and success which have characterized them.

Manors have existed in a portion of the colony of New York. And the grants of land by the owner of the manor ("the Patroon"); reserving an annual rent, have been the source of incalculable evils, morally and politically, in these districts.

But the form of self-government provided for in the charters and patents was not alone sufficient for the purpose. All these elements, to wit, religious liberty, self-government, and freehold titles, have had their full influence and operation more effectually through the organization of towns, than in any other mode. It is through the action of these town incorporations that the Puritan principles have been sustained, the New-England character formed, the industry and economy of the people promoted, the education of the whole

population provided for, and perhaps the independence of the country secured. I am sure that I do not exaggerate their importance, when I say that they have been the arterial system of New England, through which has circulated the life-blood which has invigorated, sustained, and strengthened her; making her expand in her religious, social, educational, benevolent, and political institutions and character.

The subject of the present paper is the origin of these town corporations, the mode of their organization, their utility as manifested by the division of the lands within their limits, the rights and privileges which they possessed and secured, their duties and liabilities, and the influence they have exerted, not only upon the social and religious character of the people embraced within their respective limits, but the vast effect they have had upon the political destinies of New England, and of the whole country.

Before proceeding to show the manner in which these towns originated, it may be well, for the information of any one not conversant with the subject, to say, that in the early history and records of New England, while the term *plantation* was often used to designate the whole colony, whether of Plymouth or Massachusetts, the terms *plantation* and *town* were used indifferently, to represent a settlement of persons in the neighborhood of each other, forming a cluster of habitations, the inhabitants voluntarily associating themselves together for the performance of certain common duties, and the enjoyment of common privileges and social intercourse; although persons living at some distance, and comparatively isolated, might be thus associated with those more compactly settled, and thus belong to the plantation or town. When adjacent lands were afterwards granted to them or others, so that the territory was sufficiently large, the limits of the plantation or town were established, and it was afterwards known as a township, or town. Purchases of territory were sometimes made from the Indians, and allowed by the General

Court, and a charter granted. The *territory* within the limits of these grants and purchases was sometimes known as a *township*; but as the limits of such early towns were rarely, if ever, established until an act of incorporation was granted, which authorized the inhabitants to exercise certain powers of local government, the term *township* is not so often found applied to these earliest settlements, as that of town.

At a somewhat later stage in the history of New England, when the emigration had increased and there was a desire and necessity for the expansion of the settlements, tracts of land, of some miles in extent, were granted by the Government to companies, or to several persons, in anticipation of settlement. These grants were called *townships*; and the grantees or proprietors of the township held meetings, dividing and allotting the lands among themselves, in different modes, by a major vote. The share of each proprietor in the township might be sold by him, and his lands when a division was made. Acting thus far like corporations, the proprietors have been recognized as having corporate powers for such purposes, and the collective body has been known as the *Proprietary*. When the lands were all divided and allotted, the proprietary became extinct,—dissolved by the accomplishment of the purpose for which it existed,—and the term *township* soon ceased to be the common designation. Whenever a sufficient number of inhabitants were settled in such township, to render it expedient that they should perform duties and enjoy privileges similar to those performed and enjoyed by the inhabitants of the earlier towns (which was generally before the proprietary was dissolved), the township was incorporated, and from that time became known as a *town*, by the name specified in the act of incorporation; although the term *township* continued to be used, mainly in reference to the division of the lands, and matters pertaining to land-titles.

The term *plantation* was retained but a short time, and

has fallen into almost entire disuse in New England; but it has been, and still is, used in the southern states, to designate a large tract of land in the ownership of a single person, particularly when cultivated by the labor of slaves.

Early after the institution of the Federal Government, the term *township* was used as descriptive of the territorial divisions of the public lands of the United States in the western states and territories, which have been usually surveyed into tracts six miles square, with subdivisions down to forty acres, and then offered for sale by the Government. As these townships become settled, they are called and known as towns; and sometimes the villages in them have, popularly, the same designation.

It has been said (by Mr. Baylies), that "the origin of town governments in New England is involved in some obscurity. The system does not prevail in England. Nothing analogous to it is known in the southern states; and, although the system of internal government in the middle states bears a partial resemblance to that of New England, it is in many respects dissimilar. Those who are strangers to our customs, are surprised to find the whole of New England divided into a vast number of little democratic republics, which have full power to do all those things which most essentially concern the comfort, happiness, and morals of the people."*

Another writer remarks, that the New-England towns were "peculiar in their independence and the organization of their government," and that "this government, in the light of to-day so simple and reasonable, perhaps existed nowhere else."—"The nearest precedents," he thinks, "for the New-England towns were those little independent nations, the free cities of the twelfth century; or the towns of the Anglo-Saxons, where every office was elective."†

* 1 Baylies' *Memoir of Plymouth Colony*, 240.

† Frothingham's *History of Charlestown*, 49, 50.

But a careful examination of the history of the New-England towns will show that they were not founded or modelled on precedent.

I very well recollect the curiosity expressed by some of the gentlemen in the suite of Lafayette, on his visit to this country in 1825, respecting these town organizations and their powers and operations; and a very intelligent foreigner, the author of "Democracy in America," took great pains to acquire information respecting them, and devoted considerable space in his work to an account of their powers, privileges, and duties. With these matters we are all familiar, having almost daily occasion to take part in the exercise of the first two, and to aid in the performance of the latter. But the questions, how it happened that these towns were formed, what were their powers and duties originally, what has been the course of their progress, and what the effect of their organization, are not the subjects of our daily contemplation.

They were not contrived in the closet, nor in the hall of a legislative assembly; and brought into existence, with the powers and duties which we find attached to them, by the enactment of a law for that purpose. They did not burst into mature life by any previous contrivance. But, like most other useful machinery, they had their origin in the wants of the time, and came into existence by a gradual progress from imperfect beginnings.

For the origin of these institutions, the introduction of their municipal powers and duties, and their operation in the distribution of the land into small freeholds, it is necessary to study the history of the early settlement of New England.

The charter of "the Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon" [in England], for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America," granted by James I., Nov. 3, 1620, and known as "the Great Patent of New England," incorporated the grantees, and empowered them to make, ordain, and establish all

manner of orders, laws, &c., for and concerning the government of the colony and plantation, which should not be contrary to the laws and statutes of the realm; with power to the Council, and to such governors, officers, &c., as they should appoint, to correct, punish, pardon, govern, &c., according to such laws, orders, &c., "and in defect thereof, in cases of necessity, according to the good discretions of the said governors and officers respectively, as well in cases capital and criminal as civil, both marine and others; so always as the said statutes, ordinances, and proceedings [be], as near as conveniently may be, agreeable to the laws statutes, government, and policy of this our realm of England." The lands embraced in it were to be held "in free and common socage, and not *in capite* nor by knights service;" which was the most free manner of holding lands in England.* This was certainly a most ample grant of powers.

The emigration of the first settlers at Plymouth, in New England, was before this grant (although their arrival was after); and the settlement which they contemplated was to be under the General Company of Virginia, which was established in 1606. For this purpose a patent was procured from the Virginia Company, which is supposed to have embraced a tract of territory near the mouth of the Hudson River. But they never made use of it. Storms drove them from their course; they made land at Cape Cod, and concluded to settle there.†

Before landing, they entered into and subscribed a combination or compact, "being the first foundation of their government," "occasioned partly by the discontented and mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them

* See Plymouth Colony Records; Plymouth Colony Laws, Brigham's ed., 1-10.

† See Hutch. Hist. of Mass., 8d ed., vol. i. App., pp. 407, 409, 411; and, more at large, Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1856, edited by Charles Deane, Esq., pp. 28, 41, 44, 76, 80, and Editor's notes. Same work in the Collections of the Historical Society, 4th series, vol. iii. For an account of the recent discovery of this work, see Mr. Deane's Editorial Preface.

had let fall from them in the ship,—that when they came ashore they would use their own liberty; for none had power to command them, the patent they had being for Virginia, and not for New England, which belonged to an other government, with which the Virginia Company had nothing to do. And partly, that such an act by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firm as any patent, and in some respects more sure." In this compact, after reciting that they were loyal subjects of King James, and that they had undertaken, for the glory of God, the advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of their king and country, to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, the subscribers solemnly covenanted and combined themselves "together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."*

Under this compact they chose Mr. Carver governor; and, in the early part of the next year, he was re-elected. Doubtless they chose minor officers also. On Carver's death, in April, 1621, Bradford was elected governor; but, being ill at the time, an assistant was chosen. Subsequently the number of the assistants was increased to five, afterwards to seven, forming a court or council of assistants, the Governor having a double voice.† The authority to elect the officers, and to direct and order the affairs of the colony, was in the freemen; and meetings for the purpose, called *General Courts*, became annual, first in January, then in March, afterwards in June.‡

* Bradford's Hist., pp. 89, 90.

† Bradford's Hist., pp. 101, 156, 806, Deane's note.

‡ Bradford's Hist., p. 807, Deane's note; Plymouth Colony Laws, pp. 80, 82, 87, 89. "The title of freeman is given to any one admitted to the freedom of a corporate

Thus a frame of self-government, to be administered by the freemen themselves, and through the agency of those whom they elected for the purpose, was established from the first.

On the first of June, 1621, a charter or patent from the President and Council established at Plymouth, in England, was granted to John Pierce and his associates, in trust for the colony. By this patent it was recited, that "Pierce and his associates had transported, and undertaken to transport," "divers persons into New England, and there to erect and build a town, and settle divers inhabitants, &c.; and thereupon the President and Council agreed to grant and allot, and did grant and allot, to Pierce and his associates, and every of them, one hundred acres of ground for every person, if they should continue three years, or die in the meantime, yielding a yearly rent of two shillings per acre after the first seven years. There were other provisions for grants of lands,—a covenant for a further specific grant of title, by bounds, upon a survey; another, that at any time within seven years, upon request, the President and Council would grant letters and grant of incorporation, by some usual and fit name and title, with liberty to them and their successors to make laws, ordinances, and constitutions, for the rule, government, &c., of all persons to be transported and settled, &c., with a provision, that in the mean time it should be lawful for Pierce and his associates, their heirs and assigns, by consent of the greater part of them, to establish such laws and ordinances as were for their better government; and the same, by such officer or officers as they should by most voices elect and choose, to put in execution. It was further agreed, that, when the lands should be planted, there should be a further

town, or any other corporate body, consisting, among other members, of those called freemen." — *Jacob's Law Dic.* The subscribers to the compact having combined themselves into a civil body politic, acted, in the management of their affairs, like a corporation; and they, with those whom they admitted into their association, were the freemen.

allowance and grant of fifty acres for each person transported and settled in the plantation.*

It does not appear that the grantees ever acted under this patent. And it seems to me not improbable, that the clause providing for the payment of rent was particularly distasteful to them.† There is no evidence that any reliance was placed upon the authority given by the patent, when, ten years after the first settlement, the Court, after indictment and trial by jury, undertook to inflict capital punishment for the offence of murder. As they were then an organized community, within the limits of the Great Patent, and recognized as such, perhaps they relied somewhat upon the provision in that grant, respecting discretion in governing, where no express authority was found. It appears that they consulted Governor Winthrop upon that occasion. They had no scruples respecting their authority, by virtue of their combination, to inflict corporal punishment for lesser offences.‡

Pierce, in 1622, procured another patent, and it seems intended to establish a manorial court, and himself as lord of the manor. It is generally said, that this was assigned to the Plymouth colony. But Dr. Palfrey cites extracts from the Manuscript Journal of the Council for New England, to show "that Pierce's new patent was cancelled, and the Adventurers were reinstated in their rights." §

A patent was granted, by the Plymouth Company in England, to Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns, Jan. 13, 1629. And when, in 1636, the colonists revised their laws, they refer to their "solemn and binding combination," and to this patent, as their authority "for the ordering of a body

* See Mass. Hist. Coll. 4th series, vol. ii. p. 158; Bradford's Hist. 107, and Deane's note; Morton's New England's Memorial, p. 20.

† William Hilton, writing from New Plymouth, November, 1621, says, "We are all freeholders; the rent-day doth not trouble us." — *Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, p. 250.

‡ Bradford's Hist. p. 276; Hutch. Hist. Mass., vol. ii. p. 418.

§ Palfrey's Hist. of New England, vol. i. p. 210.

politic within the several limits of the patent." It may be noted, however, that in "a form to be placed before the records of the several inheritances granted to all and every of the king's subjects inhabiting within the government," which was prepared at the same time, they not only refer to the compact, and the patent to Bradford, but allege that they "had sundry commissions made and confirmed by his said Majesty's Council for New England, to John Pierce and his associates (whose name we only made use of, and whose associates we were)." * If perchance it might afterwards be supposed that the "commissions" to Pierce affected the title to the lands, they asserted, it seems, their right to the benefit of them; although they did not rely upon them for authority in ordering the affairs of the body politic.

Bradford surrendered the patent to him, "his heirs, associates, and assigns," "into the hands of the whole court, consisting of the freemen of the corporation of New Plymouth," in 1640, in order that the title should be established in the colony.†

Many of these facts relative to the original establishment of the Colony are familiar to us, partly through the statements of authors who had seen Bradford's manuscript. I have recited them here, because the New-England towns derived their origin, organization, and powers of local government, from the powers exercised by the early emigrants; under the Compact, so far as appears, in the Plymouth colony, and under the charters in the colony of Massachusetts Bay. And they serve to show the principles upon which the emigrants acted, and in part the manner in which they were obliged to proceed in making their settlement. The circumstances in which they were placed, gave in no small degree a direction to the measures which they adopted in the management of their affairs, while always governed by the princi-

* 11 Plymouth Col. Records, pp. 6, 21.

† Bradford's Hist., 372.

ples which led them to forsake their native land, and form a colony in the wilderness.

Baylies says of the emigrants, that, "finding a place where much land had been cleared in the neighborhood of a small but pleasant stream," &c., "and of a high hill which could be fortified in a manner so as to command the surrounding country, they resolved to lay out a *town*."* But Bradford does not use this phraseology at that date. He calls the settlement, in the first instance, a plantation; and it was not until the latter part of 1621, when, describing the measures for defence against the Indians, he says, "This was accomplished very cheerfully, and the towne impayed round by the beginning of March."† In another place he speaks of an "Indian towne;" from which it is apparent that he uses the term merely to express the idea of a compact settlement, and with no reference to any organization.

It was their first duty to maintain religious observances and worship; and the second was that of good order, not only in things spiritual, but temporal also.

For several years these powers of government were exerted upon a single community only.

The original design being to establish a trading settlement, or factory as it is sometimes called, their first arrangement was that of partnership.‡ Every man's person was valued at ten pounds; besides which, those who were able contributed in money and goods, and the profits were to be shared according to the interest of each in the common stock. The lands were also held in common, and assigned in small parcels for cultivation from year to year.

Although nothing appears to have been done under the patent to Pierce, it serves to show that at that time it was in contemplation not only to grant lands in severalty, but it

* 1 Baylies' Memoir, 80.

† Bradford's Hist., pp. 95, 106, 112.

‡ 2 Hutch., 416, 417.

indicates what was supposed to be the proper extent of ordinary grants. The cultivation of the lands under a title held in common, by the people at Plymouth, was originally intended as an arrangement for seven years: but it proved an incentive to idleness instead of industry; and, after a trial of two or three years, an acre of land was allotted to each in severalty, "to them and theirs, as near the town as might be."* This occupation in severalty made a great change in the industry of the people, and of course in the production of the necessaries of life;† and, in January, 1627, it was agreed in full court, "that the first division of the acres should stand and continue firm, according to the former division made unto the possessors thereof and to their heirs for ever; free liberty being reserved for all to get firewood thereon;" but the timber-trees were excepted for the owners of the ground. At the same time a second division of twenty acres to every person was made.‡ Perhaps this limited experience had its effect in inducing a different mode of dividing the land in the early settlement of the colony of Massachusetts Bay.

It appears very clearly from this statement, that the early settlers at Plymouth had very moderate desires respecting the acquisition of real estate. They set up trading-houses on the Kennebec and Penobscot, and settlements were formed at Scituate about 1628 (although the lands were not laid out "by order of court" until 1633 §), and at Duxbury about 1632, the settlers "promising to live in the town [Plymouth] in the winter, that they might the better repair to the worship of God."|| The Plymouth colony, as we should expect under such circumstances, did not increase with great rapidity.

The whole colony constituted but one church, and there was but one town until 1633, when those who were on the

* Bradford's Hist., 167; 1 Baylies' Memoir, 158.

† 2 Hutch., 419, 420.

‡ 11 Plymouth Col. Records, 4; Col. Laws, Brigham's ed., 29.

§ Deane's Hist. Scituate, 8.

|| Winsor's Hist. Duxbury, 10.

side of the bay opposite to the town, (the place where Duxbury now is,) as Hutchinson says, "broke from the rest, because of the difficulty of travel, and became a distinct society."* It is mentioned, however, in the records of the colony, in November of this year, as "in the liberties of Plymouth" (p. 20).

The settlement at Scituate had had a minister prior to 1634, and in that year a society was organized and a minister settled (Jan. 18, 1634, O.S.). A house for public worship was erected some years earlier.†

When these settlements became separated from the settlement at Plymouth, by an organization for the separate support of the gospel, it was the natural course of things that they should become separated for the management of their local temporal affairs; and this was probably done in the first instance without particular authority, but was soon authorized by acts of incorporation, which constituted them separate towns; and thus they had legal power to manage such of their affairs as were purely local, and to make by-laws for that purpose (subject, however, to such laws and regulations as should be made by the General Court), the freemen of these new towns still remaining members of that court.

The emigrants had escaped from the tyranny of ecclesiastical power. The principle for which they contended was liberty to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. Of course, when they associated together for the purpose of supporting public worship, it was "a church without a bishop;" its creed, polity, and proceedings being regulated by the voices or votes of the members of the church, subject to some extent to the great body of the churches when met in council. This is the fundamental law of Congregational action. The principle that the right to rule is

* 2 Hutch. Hist., 415.

† Deane's Hist. Scituate, 80.

in the people, and not transmitted by succession in office, or by hereditary descent, was, of course, the principle which governed the companies in England in their temporal affairs. The founders of the colony at Plymouth applied it to their community by their compact, and founded "a state without a king," so far as their immediate government was concerned. So far as they acted under their charters afterwards, the principle was the same. And this was true also of the colony of Massachusetts. The emigrants acted, indeed, under the authority of companies which had procured grants from the king; but there was no officer deputed by the royal authority to govern or direct their affairs. The freemen of the colony, — those who were admitted to participate in its government, — assembled in General Court, consulted and directed what should be done, and their orders and ordinances became the laws of the colony. These laws were at first made by and for the inhabitants of a single settlement or town. As the settlements extended, the single community remained, under this single rule in relation to all their affairs, until it became not only a great inconvenience for those in the new settlements in the vicinity to attend the church at Plymouth; but the necessity for so doing ceased by the ability of the other settlements to provide a minister for themselves, and sustain public worship. And when they were able to do this, they had their particular local interests, which they could best understand and provide for. There was then not only no necessity that they should go to Plymouth to procure orders and rules for the regulation of such of their affairs as were entirely local, but there was no reason why the inhabitants of Plymouth should have a voice in the direction of such matters. It was not consistent with the principle upon which the colony was founded, that it should be so. That principle required, that, while they should remain a part of the whole, and be subject to the general voice in relation to all matters which concerned the

whole colony, they should be allowed to be, what their separate settlements had made them: viz., distinct communities, in regard to such affairs as concerned none but themselves; and this was accomplished by acts of incorporation, passed by the whole body in General Court, which recognized them as towns, and gave them the general powers of corporations.

Originating, however, in this necessity and propriety that the people thus separated by distinct settlements should manage their local concerns, this was only a part of the purpose of their organization. There were divers things to be done which concerned the general welfare, and which at the same time would or might promote the local interest of these settlements; and other things, which, while they were mainly of public concernment, (and for which therefore the rule ought to be determined by the general authority of the colony,) could be more conveniently done and performed by these local organizations. And the performance of these things could be, and was therefore, required of them. It was made a part of their duty, and penal consequences attached to the non-performance. And thus there grew up a system of government, embracing two jurisdictions, administered by the same people: the colonial government, having jurisdiction over the whole colony, administered by the great body of the freemen, through officers elected and appointed by them; and the town governments, having limited local jurisdiction, such as was conceded to them by the colonial government, administered by the inhabitants within the towns, through officers and agents chosen by them. In some respects they were like the borough towns in England. In others, entirely dissimilar.

At a General Court held in October, 1633, "it was by full consent agreed upon and enacted, that the chief government be tied to the town of Plymouth, and that the Governor for the time being be tied there to keep his residence and

dwelling; and there also to hold such courts as concern the whole." * This indicates an extension of the settlements.

Few of the early regulations have been preserved.† But in 1632 it was enacted, "in regard to our dispersion so far asunder, and the inconvenience that may befall, that every inhabitant provide himself a sufficient musket or other serviceable piece for war," and a certain quantity of ammunition.‡ In 1633 it was enacted that every constable-rick have a sufficient pound to impound cattle that shall transgress any such orders as are or shall be made.§ The constable-rick seems to have been the territorial division in which the constable was empowered to exercise his duties and powers, and might be a ward or a town. In January, 1633, a constable and messenger was chosen for Plymouth, a constable for the ward of ^ bounded, &c.; and a constable for the ward of Scituate. In January, 1634-35, it was agreed that the constables of Duxbury and Scituate should remain in their places another year; and in 1635 others were chosen.

In October, 1634, certain persons were appointed for laying out highways "for Duxbury side," and others for "Plymouth." And in March, 1635-36, it was ordered "that at such convenient time as shall seem meet to the Governor and Council, upon warning given, all men meet together for the mending of the highways, with such tools and instruments as shall be appointed." ||

In 1636, at a General Court held in October, "the ordinances of the colony and corporation being read, divers were found worthy the reforming, others the rejecting, and others fit to be instituted and made; it was therefore ordered

* 1 Plymouth Col. Records, 16.

† Baylies says, "It is not known that they had any written law during this period" (to 1680); vol. i. p. 169. But the subsequent edition of the Colony Laws contains between two and three pages.

‡ 11 Plymouth Col. Records, 14; Col. Laws, 31.

§ 11 Plymouth Col. Records, 16, 200; Col. Laws, 34.

|| 1 Plymouth Col. Records, 21, 31, 32, 36, 39.

and agreed, that four for the town of Plymouth, two for Scituate, and two for Duxbury, should, as committees for the whole, be added to the governor and assistants, to rectify and prepare such as should be thought most convenient, that, if approved, they may be put in force the next General Court.* This may be regarded as the first convention for revising the laws; and we have here a representation from the plantations, or settlements, not yet arrived at the dignity of towns, which was to report a draft for the consideration of the General Court.

In the revision, which was made in November of the same year on the report of the committee, it was enacted "that the town of Plymouth, viz., the purchasers and freemen, have liberty of themselves to dispose of the lands that are or shall belong unto them, to such they think meet to receive in unto them. And also to make such orders for their convenient and more comfortable subsistence, as shall by them be thought most meet and convenient, provided they be not contrary to the public ordinance of the Government."

"That Scituate be allowed the like liberties, and to dispose of the grounds between the North River and Cowehasset, provided they have recourse to Plymouth in case of justice."† This shows that freeholders as well as freemen might vote in the town meetings in relation to town affairs.

In June, 1637, it was enacted by the court, that "Ducks-borrow" shall become a township, and unite together for their better security, and have the privileges of a town; only their bounds and limits shall be set and appointed by the next court."‡

We have thus the origin of the first three towns in the Plymouth colony.

It has been generally supposed, that, for many years after

* 1 Plymouth Col. Records, 48.

† 11 Plymouth Col. Records, 18; Col. Laws, Brigham's ed., 47.

‡ 1 Plymouth Col. Records, 62; Winsor's Hist. Duxbury, 11.

the settlement of New England, no one was admitted to participate in the election of officers, and in the making of the laws, but members of the church. This was not true of the Plymouth colony. There is nothing in the compact or charter, nor have I found any thing in the laws of the colony, requiring that as a qualification.

The compact constituted the signers of it an associated community, of which, as a matter of course, no other person could become a member without their consent.

The Great Patent to the Council at Plymouth expressly authorized the company, in their discretion, from time to time, to admit such and so many persons to be made free, and enabled to traffic, and to have and enjoy lands, as they should think fit.

By the first patent to Pierce and his associates, the Plymouth Company, calling themselves the President and Council of New England, not only covenanted to grant letters of incorporation, authorizing the grantees to make orders and laws for the rule and government of all persons to be transported and settled upon the land; but a clause was inserted by which it was made lawful for them, for their several defence and safety, to "expulse, repel, and resist, by force of arms," all such persons as, without the special license of the President and Council, should attempt to inhabit within the several precincts and limits of their plantation.

The charter to Bradford and his associates expressly conferred upon the grantees the power to make orders, &c., as well for the better government of their affairs, "and the receiving or admitting any to his or their society."

The power of exclusion from participation in the government of the colony was therefore perfect from the first; and they doubtless exercised it with a view of admission to the freedom of the settlement and corporation, of such only as were deemed worthy. But they did not limit their discre-

tion in the admission of freemen, by the adoption of any order or rule for a long period.

In the revision of 1636, it was enacted, "that the laws and ordinances of the colony, for the government of the same, be made only by the freemen of the corporation, and no other; provided that, in such rates and taxations as are or shall be laid upon the whole, they be without partiality, so as the freeman be not spared for his freedom, but the levy be equal." * Miles Standish was a very efficient freeman, but not a church-member. In 1656, it was ordered, that the deputies of the towns where persons live who are admitted to be freemen, "shall propound them to the court, being such as shall be also approved of by the freemen in such towns where they live;" and, in 1658, they were required to stand propounded one whole year.† In the same year it was enacted, "that no Quaker, Rantor, or any corrupt person, shall be admitted to be a freeman;" also "all such as are opposers of the good and wholesome laws of the colony, or manifest opposers of the true worship of God, or such as refuse to do the country service, being called thereunto," "being duly convicted of all or any of these." And it was further enacted, "that if any person or persons that are or shall be freemen of this corporation, that are Quakers; or such as are manifest encouragers of them, and so judged by the Court; or such as shall speak contemptuously of the Court and of the laws thereof; and such as judged by the Court grossly scandalous, as liars, drunkards, swearers, &c.,— shall lose their freedom of this corporation." ‡ The provision excluding quakers and ranters from admission would have been entirely unnecessary, if church-membership had been requisite.

In the revision of the laws, published in 1671, it was required, in order to be admitted a freeman, that the party

* 11 Plymouth Col. Records, p. 11.

† 11 Col. Records, 68, 79.

‡ 11 Col. Records, 177.

should be twenty-one years of age, have the testimony of his neighbors that he was of sober and peaceable conversation, orthodox in the fundamentals of religion, and have at least twenty pounds rateable estate. This is requiring something more, as well as something less, than church-membership.

The next section placed a restriction upon the right of suffrage in relation to town-officers. The provision, with its preamble, is deserving of quotation entire: "And because it greatly concerns the good and weal of the whole Colony to have a good choice made in the several towns, of selectmen, deputies, grand-jurymen, constables, &c.; and it appears that some do abuse their liberty in voting for the choice of such officers, and are either factious or slight in their choice,—it is therefore enacted, that henceforth none shall have power to vote on such accounts in town-meetings, but such as are freemen of the corporation, or freeholders of twenty pounds rateable estate, orthodox in the fundamentals of religion, of good conversation, and having taken the oath of fidelity."*

The revision of 1636, before referred to, provides for the election of constables for each part, and other inferior officers. The oath of the constable describes him as an officer of the "ward;" and he was diligently to see that His Majesty's peace commanded be not broken, to apprehend suspicious persons, to serve warrants and summons directed to him, "to see the highways for man and beast be made and kept in convenient repair, and therefore be also appointed surveyor for the liberty he is chosen," &c. By the same code it was provided, "that in every constable-rick there be a pair of stocks erected. Also a cage, which shall be of competent strength to detain a prisoner, and a whipping-post; and these to be erected in such places as shall be thought meet by the

* Plymouth Col. Laws, Brigham's ed., 258.

several neighborhoods where they concern, upon the penalty X* for any township which shall be defective herein.”*

In January, 1636,—before the incorporation, it would seem, although recorded after,—it was ordered that the inhabitants of Plymouth should “have liberty to meet together to make orders for the herding of their cattle, and such other things as shall be needful for their more neighborly living together.” In 1639, a like provision was enacted “for all the townships” “allowed or to be allowed.”†

In September, 1638, it was enacted that the inhabitants of Scituate should build a bridge over South River; that the inhabitants of Sandwich and Yarmouth should build one over Eel River; and that the inhabitants of the townships of Plymouth and Duxbury should build one over Jones’s River.‡

In March, 1639, reciting that the townships had formerly had liberty to meet and make town-orders, which were thought to be defective, “for that they conceived they had not power to make assessments, rates, and taxes, for raising such necessary expenses as shall be disbursed about the general occasions of the towns concerning the Commonwealth,”—it was enacted, “that every township shall have liberty to meet together and make levies, rates, and taxes for their town’s charges, and to distrain such as shall refuse to pay the same, upon warrant of the Court or Governor.” The next year it was provided, that, where persons had relief from the towns, and had children and did not employ them, the towns might take order that the children should be put to work in some fitting employment, or placed out by the towns; also that every township should provide a barrel of powder, and lead or bullets answerable, to be kept ready for defence in time of need. In 1641, it was enacted that every township do carry a competent number of pieces, fixed and complete, with

* 11 Plymouth Col. Records, 10, 11, 16; Col. Laws, Brigham’s ed., 37, 40, 41.

† 11 Plymouth Col. Records, 25, 32.

‡ 11 Col. Records, 28.

powder, shot, and swords, every Lord's Day, to the meetings. And, in 1642, it was required that all the towns make wolf-traps and bait them, and look to them daily, upon the penalty of ten shillings for every trap which should be neglected. The number to be made by each town was specified.*

The next year, provision was made against bringing into any town any person whose support might become chargeable to the town; that every person that lived, and was quietly settled, in any township, and not excepted against within three months, should be reputed an inhabitant [gain a settlement]; and that every township should make competent provision for the maintenance of its poor.†

We have here some of the original powers and duties to be exercised and performed by the towns and their officers, upon their incorporation. They are, it is perceived, of a very miscellaneous character. Other powers, privileges, and duties were added from time to time, as it became apparent that these organizations were adapted to their exercise and performance. And so changes have been made since, as occasion seemed to require. The duty of keeping the stocks and the whipping-post has been abolished by the humanity of later times. That of keeping the *cage* [jail] has been transferred to the counties. The maintenance of the wolf-traps is no longer required.

In March, 1638, complaint having been made that the freemen were put to many inconveniences and great expenses by their continual attendance at the courts, it was enacted, "that every town shall make choice of two of their freemen, and the town of Plymouth of four, to be committees or deputies to join with the Bench [Court of Assistants], to enact and make all such laws and ordinances as shall be judged to be good and wholesome for the whole. Provided that the laws they do enact shall be propounded one court, to be consid-

* 11 Plymouth Col. Records, 25, 32, 23, 36, 38.

† 11 Col. Records, 40, 41.

ered upon until the next court, and then to be confirmed, if they shall be approved of (except the case require present confirmation). And that if any act shall be confirmed by the Bench and committees, which, upon further deliberation, shall prove prejudicial to the whole, that the freemen at the next election court, after meeting together, may repeal the same, and enact any other that may be useful to the whole. And that every township shall bear their committee's charges, and that such as are not freemen, but have taken the oath of fidelity, and are masters of families and inhabitants of the said towns, as they are to bear their part in the charges of their committees, so to have a vote in the choice of them, provided they choose them only from the freemen of the said town whereof they are; but, if any of such committees shall be insufficient or troublesome, that then the Bench and the other committees may dismiss them, and the town to choose other freemen in their place." *

Such was the foundation of the system of representation in the legislative department of the Plymouth colony. The representatives were not chosen by the freemen alone, but inhabitants of the towns who were masters of families and had taken the oath of fidelity had an equal right to participate in the election, while freemen only could be elected. General Courts, for the election of the officers of the colony, continued to be held yearly; the freemen who could not conveniently attend being allowed to give in their votes for Governor, assistants, commissioners, and treasurer, in the town-meetings, sealed up, which were then to be taken by the deputies to the General Court, and counted with those of the freemen who were present.† If some of the principal elements of this system could be incorporated into our present system, State and National, and faithfully enforced, there would be less reason for exception to the proceedings of our

* 11 Plymouth Col. Records, 81.

† 11 Plymouth Col. Records, 81.

legislative bodies, and the laws would have a greater measure of stability.

In 1639 a General Court was held, at which deputies attended from seven towns.*

In 1641 there were eight towns; in 1658, twelve.†

A representative system was introduced into the Massachusetts colony at an earlier date, by reason of the more rapid increase of that colony.

The settlements in the Massachusetts colony commenced in a different manner,—dispersed in the outset, so that the separation into towns, which, as we have seen was arrived at in the Plymouth colony by slow degrees, took place at once, by reason of the transfer of the government of the plantation to New England, and a greater emigration; and from the nature and necessities of the case.

Through fishing and other voyages, divers persons—some in companies, some singly—had, prior to 1629, settled within the limits of what was subsequently the Massachusetts colony.‡

The charter of “the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England,” granted by Charles I., March 4, 1628–9, under which the settlements were afterwards made in this colony, was, so far as our present inquiry is concerned, substantially like that to the Plymouth Company granted by James. The differences are hardly worth noting in detail. The grantees and their associates were constituted a body politic and corporate. Reciting a grant by the Plymouth Company, in England, of a tract of land between the Merrimack River and Charles River, &c., it granted and confirmed that grant in fee. The lands were to be held in free and common socage. A Governor, Deputy-governor, and assistants were to be elected out of the freemen, for one year, who were to hold courts. And a Great and General Court was

* 1 Plymouth Col. Records, 126. † See 11 Plymouth Col. Records, 87, 182.

‡ See Hubbard's Hist. of New England; 5 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., 2d Series, 184.

to be holden by the officers and freemen of the company, at which officers were to be elected and freemen might be admitted. Ample power was given to this General Court to make laws, ordinances, &c. All the subjects of the realm inhabiting there, were to have and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects.

The proceedings under the charter show that it was contemplated that the lands should be granted, in small parcels, to those who adventured in the company, and those who settled in the colony.

At a General Court held in London, April 30, 1629, it was ordered that thirteen of the most wise, honest, expert, and discreet persons, resident upon the plantation, should have the managing and ordering of the Government, to be entitled "The Governor and Council of London plantation of Massachusetts Bay, in New England." John Endicott was chosen Governor, and seven persons to be of the council. They were authorized to choose three others; "and, to the end that the former planters there may have no just occasion of exception, as being excluded out of the privileges of the company," it was ordered that such of them as were willing to live within the limits of the plantation should be "authorized to make choice of two, such as they shall think fit," to make up the number of twelve of the Council.*

It was further agreed on and ordered that the Governor for the time being, and the Deputy-governor in his absence, should have power to call courts and meetings, in places and at times convenient, as to his discretion should seem meet; and that the Governor or Deputy, together with the Council, being assembled, or the greater number of them, whereof the Governor or Deputy should be one, were "authorized by this act, grounded on the power derived from His Majesty's charter, to make, ordain, and establish, all man-

* 1 Records of Mass., 38, 361.

ner of wholesome and reasonable laws, orders, ordinances, and constitutions (so as the same be no way repugnant or contrary to the laws of the realm of England), for the administering of justice upon malefactors, and inflicting condign punishment upon all other offenders; and for the furtherance and propagating of the said plantation, and the more decent and orderly government of the inhabitants resident there." *

Under this arrangement, a settlement was made at Salem. In May, provision was made for granting lands. It appears from the record that this was done with a view to building a town.†

On the 29th of August, of the same year, it was determined that the patent and government should be transferred to New England, and settled there; and John Winthrop was elected Governor, Oct. 20.

The first Court of Assistants appears by the records to have been held at Charlton (Charlestown), Aug. 23, 1630, about two months after the arrival of Governor Winthrop and those who accompanied him. At this court, "Impr., it was propounded how the ministers should be maintained. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Phillips only propounded. It was ordered that houses be built for them at the public charge. Sir Richard Staltonstall undertook to see it done at his plantation for Mr. Phillips, and Mr. Governor at the other plantation for Mr. Wilson." After specifying the particulars of the maintenance, it is added, "All this to be at the common charge, those of Mattapan and Salem only excepted." ‡

Thomas Dudley, one of the Assistants, and afterwards Governor, writing to the Countess of Lincoln, in March, 1631, gives reasons why "we were forced to change counsel, and for our present shelter to plant dispersedly, some at Charlestown, which standeth on the north side of the mouth of

* 1 Records of Mass., 364.

† 1 Records of Mass., 43, 363, 364.

‡ 1 Records of Mass., 78.

Charles River; some on the south side thereof, which place we named Boston (as we intended to have done the place we first resolved on); some of us upon the Mystic, which we named Meadford; some of us westward, on Charles River, four miles from Charlestown, which place we named Watertown; others of us two miles from Boston, in a place we named Roxbury; others upon the river of Sawgus, between Salem and Charlestown; and the western men four miles south from Boston, at a place we named Dorchester. This dispersion," he adds, "troubled some of us, but help it we could not, wanting ability to remove to any place fit to build a town upon; and the time too short to deliberate any longer, least the winter should surprise us before we had builded our houses."*

At a Court of Assistants, Sept. 7, it was "ordered that Trimountain shall be called Boston; Mattapan, Dorchester; and the town upon Charles River, Waterton."† Also ordered, that no person should plant in any place within the limits of the patent, without leave from the Governor and assistants, or the major part of them. "And that a warrant shall presently be sent to Aggawam to command those that are planted there forthwith to come away." Sept. 28, constables were chosen by the Court of Assistants for Salem and Dorchester, "to continue in office for a year, and after, until new be chosen." At the same time it was ordered, that there should be collected and levied by distress, out of the several plantations, for the maintenance of Mr. Patrick and Mr. Underhill, the sum of 50l., which sum was proportioned among Charlton, Boston, Dorchester, Roxbury, Waterton, Medford, Salem, Wessaguscus, and Natascett. On the 30th

* See 8 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., First Series, 39; Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, 318; Hubbard's *Hist.*, 135.

† Some of the subsequent acts of incorporation are models of brevity: "Wessacumcon is allowed to be a plantation." Its name was changed to Newbury. "Winna-cunnett is allowed to be a town."

of November, there was a similar assessment upon a part of these towns and upon Winnett-semett, for the maintenance of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Phillips.*

At a General Court, May 18, 1631, Winthrop was chosen Governor, and Dudley Deputy-governor, for the year ensuing. And it was "ordered, with full consent of all the commons then present, that once in every year at least a General Court shall be holden, at which it shall be lawful for the commons to propound any person or persons whom they shall desire to be chosen Assistants; and, if it be doubtful whether it be the greater part of the commons or not, it shall be put to the poll. The like course to be holden when they, the said commons, shall see cause, for any defect or misbehaviour, to remove any one or more of the Assistants; and, to the end the body of the commons may be preserved of honest and good men, it was likewise ordered and agreed, that for time to come no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." † In September, 1635, it was "ordered that none but freemen shall have any vote in any town, in any action of authority or necessity, or that belongs to them by virtue of their freedom, as receiving inhabitants, and laying out lots, &c." ‡ This is, perhaps, the first inter-

* 1 Records of Mass., 75, 76, 77, 82.

† 1 Records of Mass., 87.

‡ 1 Records of Mass., 161. Peterson, in his "History of Rhode Island," quotes from an article in the "American Quarterly Review," of June, 1835, in which the reviewer, speaking of the "superstition, bigotry, and intolerance" of "our ancestors," says, "Let us look for a moment to the Pilgrim Fathers, to the colony at Plymouth. Speaking of them, a judicious writer observes;" — and then follows what purports to be a long extract in relation to the Massachusetts colony, containing this paragraph: "The first General Court was held at Charlestown, on board the ship 'Arabella.' A law was passed, declaring that none should be admitted as freemen, or be entitled to any share in the government, or even to serve as jurymen, except those who had been received as members of the church; *by which measure, every person whose mind was not of a particular structure, or accidentally impressed with peculiar ideas, was at once cast out of society, and stripped of his civic rights.*" — See Peterson's Hist. of R. I., pp. 22, 23; Amer. Quar. Review, No. 34, N.S., p. 327.

The mixing up, by the reviewer and the historian, of the "Pilgrim Fathers" of the Plymouth colony, with the proceedings of the "Puritans" in the Massachusetts colony

ference, by the General Court, with the authority of the inhabitants of the towns to manage such of their affairs as were of a strictly local character.

There had been, before that time, in addition to the apportionment of taxes upon the towns for the support of ministers, assessments upon them for the making of a creek at the "new-town" (Cambridge), and for the making of a palisado about it, in anticipation of its becoming the seat of government. The towns had also been required to furnish arms to those of their inhabitants who were unable; to provide certain weights and measures; to repair fences which had been adjudged by the inhabitants insufficient, if the owner did not after warning, the owner being made liable to pay the charges. It was ordered also, in 1634, that the constable and four or more of the chief inhabitants of every town, to be chosen by the freemen there, should make surveys of cornfields, mowing-grounds, and other lands, improved or inclosed, or granted by special order of the Court, of every free inhabitant there; and should enter the same in a book, and deliver a transcript thereof into the Court, that it might be recorded, and be a sufficient assurance of title. In less than a year afterwards, it was agreed, that those which are not freemen, that had taken or should

is bad enough. But this is not the worst error. The Pilgrim Fathers, as we have seen, never adopted the rule, that, in order to be a freeman, the candidate must be a member of the church. There is no good reason to suppose that the first General Court of the Massachusetts colony (Oct. 19, 1630), was held on board the "Arbella."—See 1 Winthrop's Hist., Savage's ed., 85, note 4. Where the Court was held, however, is unimportant. Officers could not be chosen at the Court of Assistants, held Aug. 23, 1630, even under the order of the Company in England of April 30, 1629. The right of election was in the General Court. But no order making church-membership a requisite to admission as a freeman was passed until near nine months after Aug. 23, 1630; and none which limited voting in town affairs, generally, to the freemen, until five years after that time.

Even in Rhode Island, not only the franchise, but ownership, was restricted. Peterson says of the proprietors there: "Those whom they considered turbulent and unruly, they would not admit to ownership, or to exercise the privileges of freemen."—*Hist. of R. I.*, 34.

For the rule in the Connecticut and New-Haven colonies, see 2 Palfrey's Hist. N. E., 8; New-Haven Col. Records, Hoadly's ed., 14, 15.

take the oaths of fidelity, should have the same assurance of land as was provided for freemen.* The bounds of towns also were established by the Court of Assistants, and differences between them determined.

Thus far the settlements have been in advance of the laying out of the towns. But, in 1635, it was "ordered that there shall be a plantation settled about two miles above the falls of Charles River, on the north-east side thereof, to have the grounds lying to it on both sides of the river, both upland and meadow, to be laid out hereafter as the Court shall appoint." †

In 1634, it was ordered that the constable of every plantation should, upon process received from the secretary, give notice to the freemen of the plantation to send so many of their members as the process should direct, to attend upon public service; and it was agreed, that no trial should pass upon any for life or banishment, but by a jury so summoned or by the General Court. ‡

In 1635, reciting that "whereas particular towns have many things which concern only themselves and the ordering of their own affairs, and disposing of businesses in their own town, it was ordered, that the freemen of every town, or the major part of them, shall only have power to dispose of their own lands and woods, with all the privileges and appurtenances of the said towns; to grant lots and make such orders as may concern the well ordering of their own towns, not repugnant to the laws and orders here established by the General Court; as also to lay mulcts and penalties for the breach of their orders, and to levy and distrain the same, not exceeding the sum of twenty shillings; also to choose their own particular officers, as constables, surveyors for the highways, and the like." §

* 1 Records of Mass., 137.

† 1 Records of Mass., 118.

‡ 1 Records of Mass., 156.

§ 1 Records of Mass., 172.

In 1638, it was declared, that every inhabitant in any town was liable to contribute to all charges, both in church and commonwealth, whereof he did or might receive benefit; and that every inhabitant who did not voluntarily contribute, proportionably to his ability, with other freemen of the same town, to all common charges, as well for upholding the ordinances in the churches as otherwise, should be compelled thereto by assessment and distress, to be levied by the constable or other officer of the town as in other cases.*

The preceding orders, so far as they limit the right of voting to the freemen, were modified in 1647, when the General Court—"taking into consideration the useful parts and abilities of divers inhabitants amongst us which are not freemen, which, if improved to public use, the affairs of this commonwealth may be the easier carried an end, in the several towns of this jurisdiction"—declared that it should be lawful for the freemen in any town "to make choice" of such inhabitants, though non-freemen, who have taken or should take the oath of fidelity to this government, to be jurymen, and to have their vote in the choice of the selectmen for town affairs, assessment of rates, and other prudentials proper to the selectmen of the several towns; provided still that the major part of all companies of selectmen be freemen from time to time that shall make any valid act: as also, where no selectmen are, to have their vote in the ordering of schools, herding of cattle, laying out of highways, and distributing of lands;" "provided also that no non-freeman shall have his vote until he have attained the age of twenty-four years."†

In 1649, it was ordered that, in issuing warrants for jurymen, respect should be had to the number of inhabitants in each town.‡

Prior to that period, we find, further, that highways might

* 1 Records of Mass., 240.

† 2 Records of Mass., 197.

‡ 2 Records of Mass., 285.

be laid out and established by the town authorities; that it was the duty of the towns to make and keep in repair highways and bridges, and that they were liable for all damages sustained by defects in the highways; that towns of fifty householders should have a school, and towns of one hundred families or householders should set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far that they might be fitted for the university, — the several towns being liable to a penalty for non-performance; — that they might purchase and hold a parsonage; and were to elect officers of the train-bands, which were the militia in the town.

The privileges, and more especially the duties, of these corporations have been extended from time to time since that period.

Having ascertained the mode in which the towns came into existence as corporations, and thereby obtained the power to make by-laws, and the other powers incident to a corporate existence; and how, at the same time and subsequently, they were subjected to the performance of particular duties, and received grants of privileges, — the change, by and through which the General Court of the Massachusetts colony was no longer composed of the great body of the freemen of the colony, but of deputies (or, as is now generally said, representatives), elected by the towns, may well demand our attention.

The charter, as we have seen, provided that there should be "a Great and General Court." This Court was to be holden four times in each year, by the Governor or Deputy-governor, and such of the Assistants, not less than six, and the freemen, who should be present; and had power to admit freemen, elect officers, and make laws. This was attended with no material inconvenience, so long as the Company was a body of "adventurers," residing in England, making the laws there, and acting by officers and agents for the purpose of disposing of land, and trading in furs, &c., in New England.

But when it was perceived, that the project of settling a

colony required a government within the colony, and it was debated whether it was not expedient that the charter and government should be transferred to New England, the government of the Company established there, and the settlers admitted as freemen,—it must have become apparent, that the success of the enterprise would enlarge the number of the freemen to such an extent, that it would be impracticable for the great body of them to meet together, elect members and officers, and make the laws; and that some other constitution of a legislative body was desirable. This consideration probably had its weight, along with others, in leading to the adoption of that part of the order of April 30, 1629, by which it was agreed on and ordered, that the Governor or Deputy-governor together with the Council, to be organized under that order, were authorized by that act, “grounded on the power derived from His Majesty’s charter, to make, ordain, and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable laws, orders,” &c.

Notwithstanding there was nothing in the charter on which to ground such a provision, it does not appear to have met with any immediate opposition. On the contrary, we find that, at a General Court held at Boston, Oct. 19, 1630, “For the establishing of the government. It was propounded if it were not the best course that the freemen should have the power of choosing assistants, when there are to be chosen; and the assistants, from amongst themselves, to choose a Governor and Deputy-governor, who, with the assistants, should have the power of making laws, and choosing officers to execute the same. This was fully assented to by the general vote of the people and erection of hands.”* How it happened that such an attempt to depart from the charter, in a fundamental point, should have been assented to by a general vote of the people interested, does not appear.

* 1 Records of Mass., 79.

Mr. Savage, in a note to Winthrop's "History," says, "The company, or great body of the colony corporation, submitted at first to the mild and equal temporary usurpation of the officers chosen by themselves, which was also justified by indisputable necessity." *

The reason is not very material. If there was indifference, it did not last long. At a General Court, held May 14, 1634, it was "agreed that none but the General Court hath power to choose and admit freemen." — "That none but the General Court hath power to make and establish laws, nor to elect and appoint officers as governor, deputy-governor, assistants, treasurer, secretary, captain, lieutenants, ensigns, or any of like moment, or to remove such upon misdemeanor; as also to set out the duties and powers of the said officers." — "That none but the General Court hath power to raise monies and taxes and to dispose of lands, viz., to give and confirm proprieties."

At the same court it was agreed, that a fine should be set upon the Court of Assistants and Mr. Mayhew, "for breach of an order of court against employing Indians to shoot with pieces;" one-half to be paid by the Court of Assistants, then in being, who gave the leave.† The margin of the record shows that the fine was remitted. These proceedings evidently show a determination on the part of the freemen to assert their rights of government, and to hold the Court of Assistants to a strict responsibility. Is it unreasonable to suppose, that the spirit which dictated these acts had been fostered by the exercise of the power of making by-laws and orders, and transacting business under their town organizations?

At the same General Court it was "further ordered, that it shall be lawful for the freemen of every plantation to choose

* 1 Winthrop's History, Savage's ed., 85, note.

† 1 Records of Mass., 117, 118. See also 1 Barry's Hist. of Massachusetts, chap. viii., p. 204.

two or three of each town, before every General Court, to confer of and prepare such public business as by them shall be thought fit to consider of at the next General Court; and that such persons as shall be hereafter so deputed by the freemen of the several plantations, to deal in their behalf in the public affairs of the commonwealth, shall have the full power and voices of all the said freemen, derived to them for the making and establishing of laws, granting of lands, &c., and to deal in all other affairs of the commonwealth wherein the freemen have to do; the matter of the election of magistrates and other officers only excepted, wherein every freeman is to give his own voice."*

Here we have the system of representation, which was two years afterwards introduced into the colony of Plymouth.

In September, 1636, the representation was limited and proportioned among the towns by an order "that, hereafter, no town in the plantation that hath not ten freemen resident in it shall send any deputy to the General Courts; those that have above ten and under twenty, not above one; betwixt twenty and forty, not above two; and those that have above forty, three, if they will, but not above."†

This system of town representation was continued substantially for more than two centuries, and was finally abandoned in 1857, and a district system substituted, because,

* 1 Records of Mass., 118; 1 Winthrop's Hist., 167. Hutchinson says, "At a General Court for elections, in 1634, twenty-four of the principal inhabitants appeared as the representatives of the body of freemen; and, before they proceeded to the election of magistrates, the people asserted their right to a greater share in the government than had hitherto been allowed to them." — 1 Hutchinson, Hist. of Mass., 39. This has been supposed to indicate that these twenty-four persons "declared themselves to be the representatives of the body of the freemen, the freemen having assented;" that "it was a voluntary organization, or, as it were, a Committee of Safety to frame government." — Debates in the Convention of Massachusetts in 1858, 4to ed., vol. i. p. 473; 8vo ed., vol. i. p. 910. But this is not probable. The "twenty-four persons," supposing that they appeared, probably came exercising their own rights as freemen, and claiming that in what they said they spoke the sentiments of the freemen, and represented them in that sense.

† 1 Records of Mass., 178.

the smaller towns having one member and the larger a proportionate number, the representative body became too large for the convenient transaction of business, and the expense of maintaining it an unnecessary tax. In 1635, it was ordered that the deputies should be elected by papers [ballots], as the Governor was chosen.*

In March, 1643-4, it was "ordered, first, that the magistrates may sit and act business by themselves, by drawing up bills and orders which they shall see good in their wisdom; which having agreed upon, they may present to the deputies to be considered of, how good and wholesome such orders are for the country, and accordingly to give their assent or dissent: the deputies in like manner sitting apart by themselves, and consulting about such orders and laws as they in their discretion and experience shall find meet for common good; which agreed upon by them, they may present to the magistrates, who, according to their wisdom, having seriously considered of them, may consent unto them or disallow them; and when any orders have passed the approbation of both magistrates and deputies, then such orders to be engrossed, and, in the last day of the court, to be read deliberately, and full assent to be given; provided, also, that all matters of judicature which this court shall take cognizance of shall be issued in like manner."† Thus this town representation became a distinct branch of legislation and judicature, the legislative body being divided into two branches, with a negative upon each other. If the wisdom, discretion, experience, and deliberation, mentioned in this order, could be secured at the present day, our laws would be much more likely to be "good and wholesome" for the country.

The particular manner in which the towns should organize, does not appear to have been prescribed by law. Their officers were such as their business seemed to require, and their

* 1 Records of Mass., 157.

† 2 Records of Mass., 58.

by-laws and regulations such as commended themselves to the judgment of the several communities, having doubtless a similarity in their main features. We derive some knowledge of their early proceedings from the Town Histories.

Charlestown was occupied immediately after the arrival of Governor Winthrop, and it was intended to build a "great town" there.

A skilful engineer was employed to "model and lay out the form of the town."* — As this seems for a time to have been regarded as the most important settlement, and many of the most distinguished of the emigrants settled there, its proceedings are of more than ordinary interest, as they probably furnished the model for those of other towns, and serve to elucidate their history. They furnish some intelligence which I have found nowhere else.

It was jointly agreed and concluded, that each inhabitant have a two-acre lot to build upon. Afterward further divisions were made to the original settlers, and to others who became inhabitants.

There is a record of "the inhabitants that first settled in the place, and brought it into the denomination of an English Towne;" but it had little resemblance to an English town, except in the fact that it had streets, and was inhabited.

The inhabitants of Charlestown for a few years transacted all their local business in "town-meeting." Prior to any law making it a duty, they provided for the support of their poor, &c. In 1634, they empowered a committee to lay out lots and make rates; and a committee to be at town-meetings, and assist in ordering their affairs. Probably the duty of this committee was to endeavor to give the right direction to the affairs, on account of differences of opinion; for in 1635, "in consideration of the great trouble and charge of the inhabitants by reason of the frequent meeting of the

* History of Charlestown, 21.

townsmen in general, and that, by reason of many men meeting, things were not so easily brought unto a joint issue," they made a compact, by which it was agreed by the townsmen jointly, "that eleven men, with the advice of pastor and teacher, desired in any case of conscience, shall entreat of all such business as shall concern the townsmen, the choice of officers excepted; and what they or the greater part of them shall conclude, the rest of the town willingly submit to as their own proper act." The eleven persons thus chosen were "to continue in this employment for one year." *

We have here, I think, the origin of the management of the affairs of the towns by "selectmen," originally introduced by the agreement of the townsmen of Charlestown, and afterwards adopted into the laws of the colony.

The selectmen acted as assessors of taxes and overseers of the poor. Other town-officers were elected, some of them the same as those elected at the present day, — town-clerk, constables, surveyors of highways. Overseers of the fields were also elected, part of whose duty was that of the hog-reeve of a subsequent period. But herdsmen and chimney-sweepers are no longer known as town-officers.

In 1636, a schoolmaster was engaged by the town for a twelvemonth, — eleven years prior to the law of Massachusetts compelling towns to maintain schools.† A schoolhouse was built in 1648.‡ There was an organization of the militia also, for there were trainings soon after the settlement.§ I have stated these particulars of what the people of Charlestown agreed and assumed to do, to show what the towns of New England have done, in a greater or less degree, from their earliest existence.

The histories of other towns are not so full and particular. But it appears from the history of Dedham, that the inhabitants

* History of Charlestown, 51.

† History of Charlestown, 97.

‡ History of Charlestown, 99, 66.

§ History of Charlestown, 94.

made a town-covenant, which "laid the foundation for making legitimate by-laws;"—that, having thus acquired the right in their aggregate capacity to make laws, they exercised it for three years; but, as the affairs of the plantation required monthly town-meetings, this diverted them from their necessary business, and in 1639 they delegated all their power to seven men, to be annually chosen."—"These seven men met monthly for many years, made many necessary by-laws for the establishment of highways and fences, for the keeping of cattle and swine and horses; for keeping proper register of land-titles, and of births and marriages; for the support of schools and religion; for additional bounties for killing wolves and wild-cats; for the extinguishment of Indian claims."*

It is but reasonable to suppose, that the other towns which were founded about the same time—Newtown (afterwards Cambridge), Dorchester, Watertown, Boston, &c.—followed the lead of the "great town."

It seems that, in some of the earlier settlements, it was understood that the lands within the towns, the Indian title being extinguished, belonged to those who were authorized to settle them, partly to be divided among themselves, and partly to be granted to those who should join them. In others they were granted by the General Court.†

The first allotments of land, as we have seen, were quite

* Worthington's History of Dedham, 32, 33. —The town regulations extended to all matters of police. — Felt, in his "History of Ipswich," p. 87, refers to an order of May 11, 1644, the first part of which is, "It is ordered that all dogs, for the space of three weeks after the publishing hereof, shall have one leg tied up." The reason of this singular restraint was, that the people had manured their lands with fish, and the dogs, being of opinion that a more satisfactory appropriation might be made of the fish, did not pay due regard to this mode of cultivation. The latter part of the order was, "If a man refuse to tie up his dog's leg, and he be found scraping up fish in the cornfield, the owner shall pay twelve shillings, beside whatever damage the dog doth. But if any fish their house-lots, and receive damage by dogs, the owners of those house-lots shall bear the damage themselves."

† History of Charlestown, 54.

small; and it excites no surprise therefore to learn, that in 1634 "those of Newtown complained of straitness for want of land, especially meadow, and desired leave of the court to look out either for enlargement or removal."* The same was true of settlers in other places; and this led to an extension of the settlements.†

In this respect, as in some others, it was doubtless true, "that the appetite grew by what it fed on;" and that there was, for that reason, a disposition, even when a liberal allowance had been made, to "ask for more."

In a tract entitled "Good News from New England," printed in London, 1648, we find, —

"Most men, unlanded till this time, for large lands eager sue;
Had not restraint knocked off their hands, too big their fermes had grew." ‡

The wholesome restraint, however, which prevented the acquisition of overgrown territory, was continued. Substantial homesteads might be allowed to those who could improve them, and there were a few instances of large grants to some of the principal magistrates.

It is stated that in 1634, when a larger allotment of land was made in Charlestown, the largest share was two hundred and sixty acres, and the smallest ten acres. These grants of land were intended for actual settlers. There was an order in one of the divisions in that town, that, if the lands granted were not occupied, they might be re-granted.

The *straitness* of the men of Newtown for want of land, "especially meadow," it would seem, led to the settlements on the Connecticut, at Hartford and its vicinity.§

The colonial records of Connecticut commenced in 1636; but the original settlement being from Massachusetts, and the

* 1 Winthrop's Hist., Savage's ed., 157.

† Haven's Cent. Discourse, (in Dedham Hist. Coll.), 9.

‡ 1 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., 4th Series, 208.

§ 1 Winthrop's Hist., 162, 167; Morton's Memorial, 181.

organization into townships being similar, it is not necessary to dwell upon the history of those settlements. The same may be said of New Haven and Rhode Island.

As the Indian title by occupancy was extinguished, either by purchase or by the extinguishment of the occupants, grants of townships were made by the General Court, from time to time, extending into the interior. These grants were made to numbers of persons, who associated together for the purpose of procuring them; and, unless otherwise expressed, each grantee became the owner of one share in the township. The grantees were called proprietors, or collectively "the proprietary," and had certain rights of a corporate character, suited to the purpose of dividing the lands among themselves; for which purpose they held proprietary meetings, and acted by major vote. The partition of the townships and sales by the owners severally, were better adapted to promote the speedy settlement of the lands than an attempt to sell by the proprietary, as general owner of the whole; for the reason, that this mode furnished the greater stimulus of individual interest in making sales and securing occupation.

The extension of the settlements is beautifully portrayed by Bryant:—

"Look now abroad: another race has filled
These populous borders; wide the wood recedes,
And towns shoot up, and fertile realms are tilled;
The land is full of harvests and green meads;
Streams numberless, that many a fountain feeds,
Shine disembowered, and give to sun and breeze
Their virgin waters; the full region leads
New colonies forth, that, toward the Western seas,
Spread, like a rapid flame, among the autumnal trees."

The early settlements of New Hampshire differed somewhat from those of Massachusetts.

The history of the conflicting grants, which were made from time to time, is foreign to our present purpose, which is with its mode of settlement rather than its title.

Captain John Mason — who, along with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, obtained the grant of all the lands between the rivers Merrimac and Sagadahoc, extending back to the great lakes and the River of Canada — seems to have contemplated, along with a fishing establishment, large agricultural operations, connected with the “great house,” which was probably designed for his own residence. It is said that three or four thousand acres of land were annexed to the house, which was built at Little Harbor, on the Piscataqua River, with the intention of forming a manor there, according to the English custom.

Hilton, another agent, who settled at Dover, had the power of granting lands. But subsequent events show, that here, as well as elsewhere, most of the settlements must have been made without any regular title to the land; and there was, for a long time, no government organized under any charter or commission.

The inhabitants of Portsmouth having, in 1640, entered into a social compact to establish a government among themselves, in the next year the settlements on the Piscataqua River and its branches were formed into distinct governments; so that there were existing, at the commencement of that year, four separate republics, independent of each other; namely, Portsmouth, Kittery, Dover, and Exeter;” * — that is, there were then four towns in that region which had all the powers of government in fact, by agreement, without any legal incorporation. The three former were settled with special reference to their fisheries; the latter, for its salt marshes.

The evils attendant upon such a state of things is readily seen, and the consequence was a union with Massachusetts, which continued until about 1680; these towns, with Haverhill and Salisbury, forming the county of Norfolk. They

* Adams's Annals of Portsmouth, 28.

were represented in the General Court of Massachusetts. I am not aware that Massachusetts assumed the right of granting lands in virtue of the union, which was jurisdictional rather than proprietary.

When the government of the colony of New Hampshire was organized, under the commission of President Cutts, in 1680, only these four towns are mentioned; and, although the settlements must at that time have extended considerably beyond their present limits, the representation in the first assembly was from them only.

But the Massachusetts colony claimed, under their charter, the right to a large tract north of the present northern line of the State; and made grants of townships under that claim, during the union, and afterwards, until the settlement of the boundary.

On the establishment of Mason's claim, townships were granted in a similar mode, by the Masonian proprietors.

The colonial governor, Benning Wentworth, made similar grants, beyond the Masonian curve line, upon certain conditions respecting settlement. These grants were usually to a large number of persons, sometimes with shares for the Church of England and the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and a lion's share for His Excellency himself.

The usefulness of these New-England towns is seen, not merely in the ends which were attained directly by their regular action, in the accomplishments of the objects of their organization, through the exercise of their powers and the performance of their duties; but in the facilities which they furnished for rendering aid to other purposes which were not the objects of their organization.

I have already adverted to the fact, that these town-organizations were powerful agents in the preservation of the religious principles of the early settlers.

That there was a difference in the characters and habits of

the people in the different sections of the country, upon the first emigration, we need not be told; and this has been perpetuated to some extent by a difference of social institutions. In other cases, changes of organization have produced corresponding changes in the manifestations of character.

There was no small difference in the habits and manners of the early settlers of New England. A large portion of them was of the Puritan stock; but this, it is well known, was not true of all. Some of the early settlers of New Hampshire were attracted thither, not so much because of the freedom it offered to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences, as that it offered a freedom of valuable fisheries.

It is undoubtedly true, however, that, in the days of the early settlement, and for a long period afterward, the leaven of Puritanism leavened the whole lump. It is equally true, that it exerts its influence for good upon the country at the present day; and we trust it will do so through all coming time.

But had there been nothing in the municipal institutions of New England operating favorably for the preservation of its principles, they could not have continued to exert their full influence after two or three generations.

While, on the one hand, character has its influence in the formation and preservation of the institutions of government, it is also true that the institutions thus formed, in their turn, exert an abiding, almost controlling, influence in the formation of character.

Could the worthy Friends who founded the State of Pennsylvania have bestowed upon the City of Brotherly Love the simplicity of a Quaker town, and could their dress and forms of worship have been continued to it until this day, it would not, a few years since, have been the most noted of all the cities in the Union for the frequency and ferocity of the riots of its fire department.

Had the Puritans left their descendants merely the legacy of their lives of purity and austerity, and of their principles

of honesty and religious faith, without any institutions by which they might be perpetuated, the remembrance of their virtues, the force of their example, and the operation of their principles, would have been much less vivid, much less powerful, and of much shorter duration.

I do not mean to be understood that institutions alone can preserve such principles and virtues, but only that they render a powerful aid in producing that effect. While much that is valuable has been preserved, something of simplicity, at least, has passed away.

The *grants of townships*, which were for the disposition and settlement of the land, became the source of immediate associations of people, — few perhaps at first, — clustering around the central point within the grant, or some favorable spot near the centre, except when they were drawn to a point more remote, by means of the advantages offered by a waterfall, natural meadows, or some other local attraction. The numbers of this small company, thus collected, increased from time to time, until the little settlement rose to the dignity of a New-England village. Here the mechanics established themselves, not always with the best of tools, but sometimes with plenty of shop-room. There is an anecdote of a traveller in Dunstable inquiring for the shop of the blacksmith. "You are in his shop now, but you will find his anvil two miles further on," was the answer. Here was not only the blacksmith, but the carpenter and the shoemaker; and then came the tailor and the trader. The butcher and the baker are of a later date; households, in those early days, acting for themselves in these occupations.

These villages thus formed in the townships, although not walled for defence, furnished a wall of defence against Indian hostility, in the mutual support and aid of the settlers who clustered together, partly for that purpose; and, when upon frontier settlements that was not deemed a sufficient protection against a foe whose approaches were so secret and

whose onset was so deadly, forts were constructed, by the common labors of the inhabitants, for their better security in times of danger.

As the village made progress, lots were selected or drawn, and farms cultivated in other parts of the township; the occupants in general looking to the central settlement as the place for the transaction of their business and for social intercourse. Amid these mutual dangers and hardships, mutual feelings of almost fraternal affection were cultivated.

They divided into school districts, which were compelled to build schoolhouses. Their duty, to provide, in their corporate capacity, for religious instruction, continued for a long period. This, with the provision for schools, transmitted the Puritan character, modified by time and circumstances, but still with many of its distinctive features. There was a change in this particular after the country was settled, so that provision could be made in the several towns for the support of religious worship without the aid of the town authority.

The effect of these rights and duties, thus exercised, upon the religious, moral, social, and political character of the people, has been seen and felt; but the influence of the town incorporation, through which they have been exercised and performed, has been but partially estimated. Through no other agency could such laws have been carried into effect. The want of such agencies was one great reason why in other parts of the country no similar provisions respecting schools and religious institutions existed.

Passing the religious, moral, and social, let us dwell a moment upon the political effects.

It was through these agencies and this organization that the measures of the Mother Country were discussed, when the controversy arose between her and the colonies. And if the merits of this controversy were better understood by the great mass of the people in New England than in any other portion

of the country of similar extent, which I doubt not was the case, it was owing, in no small degree, to these town incorporations: first, in furnishing the education; and, second, in the facilities they afforded for gatherings of the people and the discussion of the subject.

There was no extraordinary effort necessary to secure a meeting, whenever one was desired. The machinery for producing it was all ready. It only required to be put in operation. No stumps were needed on which to utter patriotic harangues. The meeting-houses were well adapted to that purpose. It was thus that great masses of the people were influenced to an active and ardent patriotism.

At the same time the most perfect facilities were furnished for a full knowledge, not only of those who were friendly to the crown, but of the various degrees of their hostility to the popular cause, from that of lukewarmness to that of rabid Toryism.

It was through these organizations that the way was prepared for resistance, not only in sentiment, but in material. Depots of military stores were provided, to a limited extent only; but, so far as such provision was made, it was mostly by the towns.

Great Britain rightly judged that a portion of the country so organized was the most dangerous; and all the events of the time led to the striking of the first blow here.

It was through these organizations that an industrious yeomanry while following the plough, and the diligent tenants of workshops while handling their tools, were converted into an armed soldiery, on the first news that the British had left the limits of Boston and were marching into the country. The dragons' teeth which produced that harvest were sown in the shape of farmers and mechanics, who, holding themselves in readiness, as "minute men," required but the heat of warlike intelligence to burst into full life and vigor as a patriotic army.

But for these towns, New England could not have been prompt to meet the crisis, and to assert the rights of the colonies by an armed resistance which made itself felt and respected from the very moment of the onset. By driving back the enemy discomfited, notwithstanding his partial success, she gave confidence in the result of the war, if war must come.

It was through their organization that law was enforced and order sustained, during the period when war had subverted the administration of justice, which had previously existed, and peace had not arrived to substitute another. The towns organized under their own provisional government, as in the days of the earliest settlement, adopted regulations, and instituted an authority which reduced the refractory to obedience, and prevented the state of anarchy which must otherwise have existed to a greater or less degree.

It was through these towns that the great mass of the people of New England were not only prepared to throw off an allegiance which had become oppressive, but that they had anticipated the action of Congress upon that subject. The several averments or accusations in that bill of indictment, the Declaration of Independence, had been previously asserted and sustained by resolutions, over and over again, in the town-meetings of New England.

It was through these organizations, and not through a want of patriotism elsewhere, that the support of the declaration was more effectual in New England than in any other of the colonies.

That New England, like other communities, has and has had unworthy men within her borders, is doubtless true; that her soil and her resources teach her the salutary lessons of economy, has become proverbial. Founding himself on these facts, her character for patriotism in the war of the Revolution has been recently assailed by an English historian of

some distinction; and it may be proper to add a remark or two upon this subject, although it may lead to a restatement of some of the preceding matter.

Without intending any invidious comparisons, where in general all did well, and the credit of the successful issue is due to all, it is but justice to New England to declare, not only that in no other part of the country of the same extent was she excelled — nay, equalled — in her expenditure of blood and treasure, which has often been said, and always proved when the occasion required proof; but that in no other part of the country could the war have begun with the same preparation on the part of so many of the inhabitants, and under circumstances so well calculated to inspire confidence in the result; and that in no other part could there have been the same efficiency in carrying it on.

If New England had been overcome, the war of the Revolution would have been an unsuccessful rebellion. And it is but a small measure of justice to the towns of New England to say, that this state of preparation, and this efficiency, were owing to their organizations, to the consultation of the inhabitants in town-meetings assembled, and to their powers to provide for the exigency by ammunition, provisions, money, and soldiers, growing out of that organization, as has already been stated.

Stores of that great sinew of war, ammunition, the want of which was such a constant source of complaint, were found nowhere to the same extent as in New England; and much of it was provided by the towns.

Were supplies of provisions to be had at short notice? It was not by foraging among friends as if they were enemies: but the towns were called upon, and the supplies were generally forthcoming; not always, it is true, in the ample manner desired, for there was not always sufficient ability when the will consented.

Was money required to carry on the operation of a cam-

paign? It was found nowhere so readily as in New England. Were soldiers needed to fill ranks in the army? A requisition was made upon the towns to furnish their quota of troops, and the call was not in vain. Was the pay which was offered inadequate, and men reluctant to assume more than their share of the burden of the contest, to the neglect of their proper business, and the ruin, perhaps, of their families? The inhabitants, in town-meeting called for the purpose, voted increased wages from the treasury of the town, (which, in other words, was by an assessment on themselves,) to make up the deficiency of a depreciated currency. And when, by repeated drafts in this way upon their resources, the general ability was somewhat exhausted, individual inhabitants, excited to action by the enthusiasm of these assemblages, became security for this additional payment, sometimes involving their whole property.

How much of the female fortitude and resolution which so nobly sustained the good cause may be traced to the town organization, or town-meetings, cannot be known. I intend to keep within the limits of fact, instead of entering the region of imagination.

When the Revolutionary contest was over, these organizations existed in the full exercise of their powers, requiring no change to carry the country onward to increased prosperity; and they still remain with undiminished usefulness.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1866.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, February 8th, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the City of Boston; the New-England Loyal-Publication Society; the Society for Promoting American Industry; the State Historical Society of Iowa; the Sussex Archæological Society; the Trustees of the Boston Athenæum; the Trustees of the Public Library of the City of Boston; the Publisher of the "Right Way"; John Appleton, M.D.; Mr. John Bartlett; Horatio Bigelow, Esq.; T. M. Bugbee, Esq.; Rev. Charles Burroughs, D.D.; Mr. E. C. Cowdin; Henry B. Dawson, Esq.; Henry G. Denny, Esq.; Henry Edwards, Esq.; Daniel C. Gilman, Esq.; Rev. I. F. Holton; Hon. Samuel Hooper; Franklin B. Hough, M.D.; Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq.; Messrs. Alfred Mudge & Son; Mr. Joel S. Orne; David Pulsifer, Esq.; Hon. Alexander H. Rice; Rev. Edwin M. Stone; Mr. John K. Wiggin; Mrs. Joseph E. Worcester; and from Messrs. Amory, Dana, Green, Lawrence, Palmer, C. Robbins, Sibley, Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President called attention to the second volume of the "Hutchinson Papers" lying upon the table, recently reprinted by the "Prince Society," and presented a few weeks since by Mr. Lawrence, who had also given

the Society the first volume issued in the early part of the last year.

The President also announced, as a gift to the Society, a large-paper copy of Mr. Sibley's "Notices of the Catalogues of Harvard College," from the author.

Ex-Governor John A. Andrew was elected a Resident Member.

The President noticed the death of the Rev. Eliphalet Nott, D.D., a Corresponding Member, in the ninety-third year of his age.

Dr. LOTHROP gave some interesting reminiscences of Dr. Nott.

Mr. SAVAGE expressed the hope, that, although the Society holds itself under no obligation to publish memoirs of its Corresponding Members, Dr. Lothrop should be charged with the service of furnishing some memorial of Dr. Nott, for the Society's Proceedings; and the suggestion was adopted by the Society.

Mr. WATERSTON presented, with some remarks, a copy of "The Knightly Soldier," written by H. C. Trumbull; and a copy of a "Memorial of James S. Wadsworth," by the Hon. Lewis F. Allen.

He also communicated, for the acceptance of the Society, a copy of the "Proceedings of the Century Association in memory of Brigadier-General James S. Wadsworth and Col. Peter A. Porter, Dec. 3, 1864," presented by Martin Brimmer, Esq.; also a copy of a "Memorial of Major Edward Granville Park," by his father, the Hon. John C. Park,—a gift of the author.

Proper acknowledgments were directed to be made for these gifts.

The Rev. CHARLES BURROUGHS, D.D., of Portsmouth, a Corresponding Member, being present, communicated to the Society a deed, from Robert Tufton Mason to Elizabeth Beck, of land in New Hampshire, dated the 28th of April, 1686. He also presented, after having read, two letters of "Mary Pepperrell" to her husband, Sir William Pepperrell; one dated October 9th, 1740, the other September 22nd, 1749, both from "Kittery."

Dr. Burroughs also presented a volume, written by himself, being "A Tribute to the Memory of Commander John Collins Long, of the United-States Navy."

Mr. W. G. BROOKS presented four broadside proclamations of Provincial Governors of Massachusetts, — one of Governor Pownall, dated October 13th, 1759, appointing the 25th instant as a day of public thanksgiving; one of Governor Pownall, dated 24th March, 1760, appointing the 3d of April for a general fast, on account of a destructive fire in the town of Boston, on the 20th of March; one of Governor Bernard, appointing the 7th of October, 1762, as a day of thanksgiving; and one of Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, appointing the 18th of April as a day of fasting and prayer.

Mr. HALE exhibited a number of Duchesne's models of public and private buildings in Boston, made sometime during the years 1812–1816.

The President presented copies of the following letters, written by the Marquis of Buckingham, and addressed to Sir John Temple, His Majesty's Consul-general to the United States, residing in New York. The recent death of Lord Palmerston, who was of the family of Temple, had given occasion to renewed investigations of the

Temple pedigree, and particularly of the old Baronetcy of Stowe. One of these letters contained the announcement that the title to that Baronetcy had devolved upon the son-in-law of Governor Bowdoin. All the letters were among the Bowdoin Papers in his possession: —

Marquis of Buckingham to Sir John Temple.

DEAR SIR, — Your letter of the 31st July reached Stowe after I had left it, and was forwarded to me here. I conceive myself just in time to answer it before you embark. I am sorry that you have not obtained that title which seems to me really essential to the object of your mission, and which I *know* that Mr. Pitt considered in the same light. I conceive, therefore, that His Majesty must be hampered by some engagements for the same honor, which it may not be expedient to gratify *at present*. This is only a suggestion; but it is what occurs to me upon a point which ought not to have been matter of conversation for five minutes.

I receive with much satisfaction the news of Mr. Bowdoin's election to the chair of the Massachusetts State, as I have much confidence in the cool and steady integrity of that respectable gentleman: public confidence in such a character was never more requisite than in this moment. You know my opinions upon a commercial intercourse between Great Britain and America. I must ever think we are unwise, if we expect a useful trade with the United States, till we have opened to them some medium of remittance. What that is to be is indeed matter of very serious doubt; and I have no difficulty in saying, that the disgraceful scenes of violence which have taken place in some parts of that continent do not seem likely to conciliate that cool and temperate disposition which alone can procure the happy consequences which I so seriously wish. As to a treaty of commerce, I have seen nothing to change my opinions upon the inefficacy and inexpediency of it. I never knew one attended with the advantages proposed by the contracting parties; and in every instance they are certain seeds of fraud and discord. America has, as Mr. Bowdoin observes, the undoubted right of regulating her commerce, and even of giving a preference to any nation who will purchase it by treaty, or by reciprocal advantages. Hitherto she has almost universally laid a heavy impost on British commodities in favor of all other nations. I am yet to learn what advan-

tage she has derived from such a system ; and she must know that (after time has been given for hot minds to cool) Great Britain can more easily afford to lose the *direct* trade to the United States than they can : for it is plain that in this country restrictive laws can be enforced, and it is equally certain that in America every argument which has ever been used to show the inexpediency and impracticability of such a system applies to the utmost advantage, when it is considered that we retain Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and the Bahamas as the certain objects for our illicit commerce, which I will venture to say may be insured into any port of your continent at a less premium than the duty of five per cent. now laid upon them. But the war of duties is of all others the most odious, and ultimately the most ruinous. I will hope for a real union of interests, and for reciprocal good offices to each other ; but the difference hitherto has not been (allow me to say) favorable to the national character of America ; for the British trader carried his effects to your ports under the faith of nations, and under the protection of a system of commerce which was understood to be reciprocally open. In so doing, he took no unfair advantage, nor did our Government mark to America any exclusive restraint, when we put her on the same footing with all other foreign nations who traded with us or with our islands. On the other hand, particular restraints, particular legal difficulties, and particular duties, have been applied through every State, as the system under which they mean to admit the British trade, and consequently as the system under which they reasonably expect to see their own admitted into the English ports. Much remains to be done upon all these subjects ; and although I am happy to see that State in which your connections lie, more immediately in the hands of a character so respectable as Mr. Bowdoin's, yet perhaps I may for his sake wish that he had suffered another year to pass over ; as I am convinced that nothing but experience can bring back the mind of America to cool reflection from the intoxication which her independence has given to her. The hour of our national insolence is gone by, and I trust that we have profited by the lesson of adversity. That of America yet hangs over her ; and, unless I am greatly deceived, she must inevitably drink deep of that bitter cup, if the wisdom of her councils do not interfere to check materially the popular frenzy and violence. The corruption of France, the resentment and antipathy towards Britain, the jealousy of each other, and above all the national weakness of America, must all operate to consequences most certain and most obvious. In all this, however, my

dear Sir, your path is clear, either as a public or private man. I do not know your instructions; but I know it is not for the policy, the honor, or the interest of that power whom you are there to represent, to interfere in the domestic differences of America: but, at the same time, it is necessary that she should know, that our interests are less in her power than, in the moments of her frenzy, she may imagine. I have now only to add my sincere wishes for you and yours; for the success of your undertaking, so far as it may contribute to your credit or to your character; and to assure you that I am with great truth and regard, dear Sir, your very faithful and obedient servant,

NUGENT BUCKINGHAM.

MARGATE, July 8, 1785.

P. S. — I have this moment received advice from a correspondent at Minorca, that the "Kingfisher" sloop-of-war was arrived from Algiers, with news of their peace with Spain; and that the Dey of Algiers had, on the 13th of July, declared war in form against America; and that, on the 14th, twelve frigates, equipped by him for the Spanish war, had sailed to cruise in the Bay and elsewhere for all American ships; and notice of this declaration of war had been sent to all their corsairs who were out. Tunis and Morocco had already declared war against America.

Be so good as to let me hear from you under cover to Lord Carmarthen's office.

Marquis of Buckingham to Sir John Temple.

Stowe, Sept. 2, 1786.

DEAR SIR, — Having lately returned from a long tour into the West of England, I have not had an opportunity of thanking you for the continuation of your very interesting correspondence. My letter of May last will have explained to you my ideas upon the situation of the commercial and national situation of the United States. The difficulties of carrying on a correspondence upon nice points across the Atlantic prevented me from saying much more than what was clear to the comprehension of any man; but every account from you, and every mail, confirms me in those opinions that their present form of federal government is wholly unfit for the purposes of peace or war, and that some convulsion must sooner or later do that which wisdom and moderation cannot guide. Every hour will add to her distress; and every adjudication of those courts, which have so grossly violated the first principles of justice, with respect to debts contracted since the peace, and of national faith, with regard to those secured by the treaty, has

tended to weaken the confidence of the merchant, and consequently to raise upon the American consumer the price of those goods which she must take from Europe, and consequently from England, either directly or through other nations. This system, so weakly aimed at England and so fatally operating upon themselves, began before you sailed; and you remember how exactly we agreed upon the probable consequences of it. Different circumstances have accumulated to increase those difficulties, in proportion as the prosperity of Great Britain, rising beyond the wildest speculations of fancy, has enabled us to take steps for securing to ourselves and to our remaining colonies those advantages to which America owed her strength and resources. That measure, however fatally it may operate upon her trade, is (as is clear to every inquisitive mind) but half complete; and very much remains to be done if America persists in her wild war of prohibitions and impotent restrictions. Have any of their governors weighed the consequences to the United States of this commercial treaty which France is known to press with the most earnest attention, and to which it is hoped a very speedy conclusion may take place? If Spain joins in the same treaty, are there not possible consequences which America may foresee well worthy her attention? And yet, my dear Sir, I will prophesy that the crisis of her frenzy is not yet arrived; but that she will wait till bankruptcy, political as well as individual, has taught her that, in the moment in which she rejected Great Britain as a parent, it was essential to her existence to court us as the most valuable and the most natural friends. In the mean time, her West India trade, either to our islands or those of France and Spain, whose orders are more peremptory even than ours, is gone; her fisheries almost annihilated, except for home consumption, and even these rivalled in her own markets; her Mediterranean and Southern trade commanded almost entirely by the Barbary powers; and her imposts to Great Britain exposed to the possibility of severe retaliation of prohibitory duties, which may be enforced here, and never can in America. You will have known before this, that the two deputies commissioned to treat with Algiers have returned from thence *re infectâ*, and indeed the event of the embassy might have been foreseen; for even if Algiers had accepted the tribute which she demanded, every other Barbary power, viz., Morocco, Tunis, and the Bey of Constantine, would have covered the cruisers, and America would have daily found some new flag, which she would be compelled to crush by force or to buy. The state of our public credit must almost appear romance to those re-

moved from the scene of action ; it has gone beyond the most sanguine imagination ; and the only fact which seems certain is, that it has not yet found its pitch. The stocks may, in some slight degree, continue liable to the little fluctuation which the tricks of jobbers, and the inexplicable management in the alley, may produce ; but the operation of the annual million which is daily employed in pouring money into the market, and in withdrawing that fluctuating stock, will have raised our credit, by this double effect, to an extent of which it is not yet easy to see the limits. The recent death of the King of Prussia gives a strong proof of their solidity ; for, although it is more than probable that this event may have a very serious and a very rapid effect upon the politics of Europe, they have barely appeared to feel it, and are now higher than immediately before that event. To this picture of national prosperity the language of party can add nothing, nor can it detract from it ; the proofs are in the hands of every one : but this should be known where they may furnish a useful lesson of the benefit arising from government, industry, and unimpeached integrity in national as well as individual engagements.

To this, my dear Sir, I have very little to add, except that I have gradually recovered my health, so as to be at ease from the alarms which I expressed to you in my last letter. Your situation, though possibly unpleasant from political considerations, is, I hope, perfectly eligible to you from the health and comfort of your family. New York was in former times one of the most eligible places of residence on your continent : how far the Revolution, by changing the relative situations of individuals, has altered the general manners, I have not heard ; but, from general accounts, it seems preferable to any other city in America. My time is employed in society and in amusements, continuing the same earnest wishes for the success of the King's government, and for my own personal repose ; yet I cannot avoid speculating upon political subjects, particularly if they are interesting to the credit and character of those to whom I wish well. From this consideration I have thought much upon American politics, being with great regard, and with every good wish towards you, dear sir, your very faithful and obedient servant,

NUGENT BUCKINGHAM.

The Marquis of Buckingham to Sir John Temple.

STOWE, Dec. 3, 1786.

DEAR SIR, — By the address upon this letter you will have learnt that you are in possession of a rank which you so much wished. I

should, in consequence of your letter, which I received by the November packet, have earnestly pressed for that mark of distinction from His Majesty; but our worthy kinsman, Sir Richard Temple, who died only in the preceding week, and having left no issue, the title devolves upon you, as heir male to Sir Peter Temple, my great-great-grandfather, and your great-grandfather. I have taken care to notify this to Lord Carmarthen, in order that you may be acknowledged as baronet in his addresses to you, which is the only mode in which it is ever done; and I trust that you will do credit to one of the oldest titles now extant in the baronetage, and one that has never been disgraced by any of the many generations through which it has passed. I know that a great mind wishes to rest its pretensions upon its own merit, rather than upon those of an ancestry, however illustrious; but the policy of all governments has annexed a respectability to the descendants of those who have deserved well from their country. And perhaps it may seem contradictory to the spirit of republicanism, but in fact in no government has this system been more generally admitted to its utmost extent than in the purest times of the Greek and Roman Republics, and of those of more modern date in Europe. In every point of view, then, I am truly glad of your accession to this hereditary title, in preference to one of more modern date.

You are very good in pressing me so much upon the subject of my picture. I came to town so late last winter, in consequence of my long and dangerous illness, and left it so soon, being ordered to Bath, that I did not give Mr. Trumbull a sitting. However, upon my return to town, I will take care that it shall be finished. I have given the King's picture to my corporation of Buckingham, so that I fear that I cannot gratify your wishes: however, I will endeavor; but in that case I do not know who your agent is here, to whom I am to deliver it. However, if I do not find him out, I must trust it to some trader, if I can get it for you.

Your picture of the present state of the United States does not belie my prophecy. It was easy to foresee this scene; the solution to it is not so obvious. A few months will bring part of these questions to issue, by the failure of their pecuniary engagements to France, Spain, and Holland. I think I have reason to believe that the first will not be trifled with, and that America will find her confidence in the forbearance of France misplaced. The change of her politics and opinions as to the United States, her disappointment in the expectations which she had formed from the American commerce,

and, above all, the difficult state of the French finances (for in this year they have borrowed six millions sterling, and have only paid off two millions), are the probable causes which have induced their determination. I do not believe that they will even temporize, but they certainly will not give up interest or principal. In Holland the case is very different. The loan was raised, not from the public fund, but from the purses of individuals; and France is bound for it. You will therefore see most clearly that these Dutch speculators will have their money; and I fancy that the most sanguine American does not expect that France will help them in this business. There is a report that France has thrown out the idea of a cession of Rhode Island to her in discharge of this debt, or to be held in the same manner as the cautionary towns were delivered by the Dutch to Queen Elizabeth. These ideas are possibly floating only at present, but they exist, and perhaps are not known in America. In the midst of this scene of anarchy, misrule, and bankruptcy, both public and private, it is for the wisdom, interest, and dignity of Great Britain, to preserve not only the strictest neutrality, but even to guard against the appearance of intermeddling with the internal arrangements of America; but, in doing this, I do not believe that any consideration will induce us to give way upon the subject of our new navigation act, the blessings of which we now feel in the hourly aggrandizement of our commerce and our navigation. This new commercial treaty with France stands upon grounds so singularly advantageous to us, that we are in a situation to laugh at the commercial restrictions of European powers, and much more so to those of America, whose ports, from local circumstances, must be exposed, and whose consumption must be secured to us in all articles where we can undersell the foreign merchant. And I do not apprehend that America will find her own manufactures or revenue much improved by the only operation of her restrictive laws, which, if they are enforced, can only drive us to export our goods circuitously through a French port. These considerations, urged upon us by the petulant and almost contemptible jealousy of America, must throw aside every idea of a nearer conciliation at present. She has not yet recovered from her intoxication of independence; and as she has chosen the lesson of experience instead of that which she might have collected from reason, policy, and dispassionate disquisition, she must expect the usual consequences of that lesson, always unpleasant, but perhaps ultimately the safest in proportion to the impression which their distresses must make. In the meantime, we

will look with pride and satisfaction at the state of this kingdom. After funding thirty millions in the two last years, our commerce and shipping has increased with an elasticity proportioned only to their depression during the war. Our tonnage of shipping is increased one-eighth beyond the state of the united shipping of Great Britain and of her colonies in 1774. Our manufacturers are unable to execute the orders poured upon them from all quarters of Europe. The exchange, already ten per cent. in our favor, is hourly rising. Our revenue has paid off one million of our debt in nine months; and our prospects of peace are secured to us by these treaties of commerce, which are extending themselves to Spain, Portugal, and Russia.

I have given you this general state of our situation, because you probably receive your accounts of us in America through a jealous or gloomy medium. I have not gone beyond the strict line of fact in this description of our internal prosperity, nor have I been as sanguine as those who are immediately conversant with those subjects. The funds had risen to a medium of interest paying three and three-fourths per cent. This commercial treaty, by increasing the demand of money, has lowered them, as our various trades have run wild in every species of purchase for the French market; but the credit given is so very short, that a few months will probably make a very sensible alteration in their value. But you will remember that, when you left England, Mr. Pitt was funding by raising money at seven per cent; and he may now command any sum he pleases, for paying Exchequer bills, at three per cent. In this situation, we may yet rejoice that we are English; and, leaving to America the blessings, real or imaginary, of her independence, let us comfort ourselves in the reflection, that four years have now shown that the most fortunate moment for Great Britain was that in which she bought her peace by the separation in commercial as well as political relations to the provinces of America. I do not in this mean to speak the language of resentment. I voted for the American War, because I thought our claim well founded; I deprecated the acknowledgment of her independence, as a measure big with ruin to this country; and experience has shown me the weakness of my opinions, by pointing out to me the commercial greatness of Great Britain, notwithstanding this separation, and in many points actually rising in consequence of it.

I have now troubled you too long; and will only detain you to observe, that your letter does not acknowledge either of the two which I have written to you in the present year. The last was sent to Lord

Carmarthen's office; and I shall give this to the same conveyance, as I have reason, from many circumstances, to doubt the safety of any other channel of communication. I hope that you and your family are well; and, with very many thanks for all your various communications and enclosures, which have reached me safely, I remain, dear sir, your very faithful and obedient servant,

NUGENT BUCKINGHAM.

P.S. — I forgot to tell you that Bath has restored me to a degree of health which I had not felt for these four years.

The Marquis of Buckingham to Sir John Temple.

PALL MALL, LONDON, 4th Oct., 1787.

The present conjuncture of affairs is so critical and full of anxious expectation, as to hush for a time the spirit of speculation and conjecture, and to fix the political eye in deep attention on the conduct of two great powers, — *the French and the Austrians*. A strict league, cemented by the bonds of affinity, has for some time united France and Austria, after they had been divided, by hostilities and animosities, for a period of little less than three centuries. But this amity between rival powers, it was easy to foresee, and has in fact been predicted by every political observer, was sooner or later to be shaken and overturned by some of those accidents that are perpetually changing the face of the world. The period of its duration seems now to be completed: France is politically attached both to the Hollanders and the Turks, and the Emperor is hostile to both. Can the Imperialists and the French draw the sword against each other on one side the Danube, and cordially embrace on the other? It will be as difficult for his Imperial Majesty to make a distinction between a Frenchman in the Crimea and a Frenchman within the dominions of the Grande Monarque, as it is to separate, in his sentiments and mind, the King of Great Britain from the Elector of Hanover. With regard to the hostility of the Emperor to the Dutch Republic, it is true that he has equal cause of animosity against the Family of Orange; but, in the first place, it is not the interest of the Imperial Court, in the present moment, to exhibit an example of successful rebellion in one-half of the Belgic provinces, while his own subjects, which form the other half, are in a state of commotion, and almost actual insurrection. It is time now for kings and princes to know the power of example, which will be found, on an enlarged and philosophical view, in reality to govern mankind. In the second place, if, in the present contest, the fortune of

the Hollanders should prevail against that of the Prince of Orange, the whole maritime force of the republic would be eventually thrown into the scale of France ; which, with that of Spain (should that Court be *again* successfully *practised upon*), would render the maritime power of the House of Bourbon the first in the world ! It is impossible, therefore, that such an event should be contemplated by the Emperor without jealousy and alarm ! Accordingly it may be concluded that he will favor the Stadtholder, if France should take an active part against him. Whether she will do this or not is *the grand point in question*, and which the recent irruption of the Prussians into the territories of the United Provinces must soon determine. In the mean time, it is hardly of moment (in a matter that must so soon be decided) to reason concerning the effects which the present discontents and pretensions, avowed by the friends of liberty in France, may produce in the councils of that Government respecting war or peace. It is evident, that, as self-preservation is the first law of nature, the French Court will be naturally inclined to divert that high spirit which pervades their nation from a spirit of internal reform to foreign attacks, and to convert animosity against the abettors of tyranny into national pride and the point of military honor. But *disordered finances* on the other hand, and a wish to give effectual succor to the Grand Signior, may dispose them to *accommodate* matters in Holland for the present ; while, by continued *intrigues*, they encourage their party and prepare for future hostilities on some more favorable occasion. While I am now employed in expressing these sentiments, intelligence is said to have arrived that the Prussian army hath not only reduced Utrecht, with many other towns, but also *the city of Amsterdam*, the strength of the United Provinces ! If this be so, the French will have a pretext either for peace or war. On the one hand, the irruption of the Prussians holds out the imposing plea of relief to the oppressed, if they are disposed to hazard an appeal to arms ; on the other, the dastardly cowardice of the Dutch patriots will afford ground of excuse to the French, if they should not. For how are the Hollanders to expect the French will fight for a people that shrink at the first approach of real danger, and will not defend themselves ? Courage and constancy find support ; the timid and irresolute (deserted by their very friends) are usually abandoned to their fate. It was not until the brave ancestors of these *degenerate Dutch* presented an intrepid front, and proved their resolution (by multiplied acts of active and passive courage), that they were assisted by Queen Elizabeth and Henry the

Fourth. It was not until the Americans had taken that scribbling general (Bourgoyne) with his army prisoners that they were assisted to any purpose by the French. If the Hollanders yet show determined courage, then and then only may they expect succor from their new allies.

It is thought, and on probable grounds, that there is a secret compact among the Prussians, the Emperor, and the French; the general object of which is to support each other's pretensions where they are in any degree reasonable, and do not interfere with one another. But the most immediate and particular view is the *partition of the Turkish dominions in Europe*. This *great object* will sufficiently explain that *breach of faith* which, if we may judge from present appearances, is *intended*, on the part of the French, towards their Batavian confederates.

It is become evident, almost to demonstration, that, in the late commercial treaty, the Court of France was not sincere, and that it had nothing so much in view as to *lull* the English nation into the *slumber* of peace, and the pleasant intoxication of temporary gain. They continued to build ships of war; they formed new harbors; they fomented such divisions in Holland as might, in the end, give the influence of France a decided and permanent superiority in the councils of that republic; and they entered into a close alliance with the Imperialists and the Russians. All these circumstances were intended as a preparation for a new attack on Great Britain, either in the East or West Indies, or both. It was not indeed to be expected that success in the cabinet and field (caused by the late American contest) would cease to produce its usual effects in the most ambitious and the most volatile nation in Europe. If the internal discontents in France and the *firm* conduct of Great Britain and Prussia should reduce the French to the necessity of *temporising* in the present juncture of affairs, yet still we ought to keep constantly on our guard; their ambitious views are only suspended, not abandoned. The British sovereign, court, and nation seem to be unanimous in opinion that the Stadtholder should be supported; and this obvious *wise policy* deserves commendation. If, however, we must draw the sword, let us beware of the conditions on which we sheath it. Great Britain depends for prosperity on her public credit; the disease that threatens her dissolution is the *accumulation of the public debt*. To aggravate and precipitate this morbid distemper, by entangling us in constant wars, is the inhuman policy of the Court of France, which, in this game of blood, she can play at less expense than Great Britain, and with less risk. Of what avail are the pitiful savings of a few years of peace, if a new war is to swallow

up, in its ensanguined vortex, our sinking fund? As we wisely imitate the conduct of the great opposer of French ambition, King William, in the spirited preparations now on foot for the support of the Stadtholder, let us imitate him also in his enlarged and profound views, in forming alliances and opposing art to art. It may be questioned whether English councils were guided by the soundest policy when we formed that new alliance in Germany, which determined Austria to depart from her ancient system, and to enter into an intimate union with a power that had successfully opposed her for near three centuries? In this refined and enlightened age, it is essential for politicians to *counteract* the designs of refined ambition, by uniting the minds of princes in the defence of justice. If we sit down quietly (as some of our statesmen advise), and apply ourselves wholly to the fabrication of manufactures, we may certainly grow rich; but we shall lose the political and military spirit; we shall become effeminate; and some warlike nation will sweep away our accumulated wealth,—just as we drain the treasures from the manufactures of India, and as the Prussians *may now* make themselves masters of the *thirty millions* sterling deposited in the Bank of Amsterdam! It is undoubtedly the policy of Great Britain to detach the emperor from his French alliance, by assisting him to recover Franche Comté, Alsace, Lorraine, and other territories wrested from his ancestors in the Low Countries. The French must now be effectually checked and brought [to] reason; otherwise, they will continue to distress and harrass their peaceful neighbors by the rage of their restless ambition. With regard to the Austrian Netherlands, the late insurrection at Brussels proves the *insidious* policy of the emperor, who, after repeated declarations of moderate and just designs, manifestly discovered an intention of *slipping the yoke* of slavery over a generous people. But their political wisdom and foresight yet remain to be proved, by some *arrangements* that will secure their liberties, against the sudden attacks of a restless and ambitious sovereign, who has discovered a desire of reducing them under obedience, even by stratagems and conspiracies.

Thus have I hastily given you my sentiments on the present state of affairs on this side the water. A few days or *hours* may, however, change perhaps the whole complexion of them; which continues us in anxious expectation for the *result* of Mr. Grenville's negotiation. With regard to America, we have had no interesting accounts of late, nor hath any thing yet reached us concerning the deliberations of the convention assembled at Philadelphia.

MARCH MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, March 8, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; the American Antiquarian Society; the Essex Institute; the Massachusetts Horticultural Society; the Mercantile-Library Company of Philadelphia; the New-England Loyal Publication Society; the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History; the Publisher of "The Right Way"; John Appleton, M.D.; Henry B. Dawson, Esq.; Elias Hasket Derby, Esq.; Rev. Thomas Hill, D.D.; Hon. Samuel Hooper; Franklin B. Hough, M.D.; Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq.; Joel Munsell, Esq.; Mrs. William Parsons; Frederick W. Seward, Esq.; J. B. Trembley, M.D.; J. Baxter Upham, M.D.; Mrs. Joseph E. Worcester; and from Messrs. Adams, E. B. Bigelow, W. G. Brooks, Green, Latham, Lawrence, Metcalf, C. Robbins, Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

A communication was received from the Hon. Charles W. Upham, of Salem, soliciting the favor of inspecting and copying, to the extent that he may desire, the Witchcraft Papers, presented to the Society by the late N. I. Bowditch. Mr. Upham states that he is preparing a new edition of his work on the "Salem Witchcraft."

Leave was granted under the rules.

The President communicated, as a gift from Arthur Amory, Esq., the "Pocket Almanack" of J. & T. Fleet, for the year 1779. It had once belonged to "Charles Apthorp" (whose name it bears), and contains some manuscript notes.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Amory for the gift, which was referred to the Committee on the publication of the Proceedings.

Messrs. Thayer, Lawrence, and E. B. Bigelow were appointed a Committee to examine the Treasurer's account.

Messrs. Solomon Lincoln, H. Gray, jun., and Endicott, were appointed to nominate a list of officers to be presented at the next annual meeting.

The President exhibited a copperplate engraving of a design of Dupré's Medal of General Greene, afterwards struck at the mint in Paris for the Government of the United States. The design was published in the "*Journal Polytype des Sciences et des Arts*," for the year 1787, Vol. i., p. 22.*

The President then introduced Mr. George W. Greene, of Rhode Island, a corresponding member, who read a paper on General Greene in connection with the American Army before Boston, at the time of the "Siege"; this paper forming a chapter in Mr. Greene's Life of his grandfather, General Greene, in the preparation of which the author has made considerable progress.

Dr. WALKER announced the Memoir of Mr. Quincy as having been completed by him.

* For an account of this medal, see Dr. Mease's description of American medals in 8 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 808.



Josiah Quincy

PLATE XXIX

M E M O I R

OF

J O S I A H Q U I N C Y.

BY JAMES WATSON, D.D.

EDWARD QUINCY, the emigrant ancestor of the Quincy family in this country, came from Acland, Northamptonshire, England. He arrived here Sept. 4, 1635, in the same vessel with the Rev. John Cotton, and several laymen of good estate.

His descendants have not been numerous; but, as many of them were educated men and in public life, several have always been distinguished. Josiah Quincy, the subject of this memoir, died in the lifetime of his father, and the name thus written is indissolubly associated with the struggles which led to American Independence, was of the fifth generation. He was then a young lawyer, rapidly and equitably rising into note. Of an ardent temper, devoted to the rights and liberties of the Colonies, bold, energetic, incorruptible, he was eminently fitted to become a leader in the impending Revolution. He was married, in October, 1759, to Abigail Phillips, the eldest daughter of William Phillips, one of the most distinguished and successful of the Boston merchants of that day. They resided in Washington (then Milk-borough) Street, nearly opposite the old Province House, where was born, Feb. 4, 1772, their son Josiah, the subject of the following memoir.



Wm. L. Quincy

MEMOIR
OF
JOSIAH QUINCY.

BY JAMES WALKER, D.D.

EDMUND QUINCY, the emigrant ancestor of the Quincy family in this country, came from Achurch, Northamptonshire, England. He arrived here Sept. 4, 1633, in the same vessel with the Rev. John Cotton, and several laymen "of good estate."

His descendants have not been numerous; but, as many of them were educated men and in public life, the name has always been distinguished. Josiah Quincy, jun., so called because he died in the lifetime of his father, and because his name thus written is indissolubly associated with the early struggles which led to American Independence, was of the fifth generation. He was then a young lawyer in Boston, rapidly rising into note. Of an ardent temperament, jealous for the rights and liberties of the Colonies, bold, eloquent, incorruptible, he was eminently fitted to become a leader in the impending Revolution. He was married, in October, 1769, to Abigail Phillips, the eldest daughter of William Phillips, one of the most distinguished and successful of the Boston merchants of that day. They resided in Washington (then Marlborough) Street, nearly opposite the old Province House, where was born, Feb. 4, 1772, their son Josiah, the subject of the following memoir.

In the autumn of 1774, the father embarked for England, in the hope of serving his country abroad, and at the same time recruiting his own health, which had begun to give way under the pressure of professional and public cares. The first part of this hope was fulfilled, but not the second; he died on his passage home, April 26, 1775, only a few hours before the ship entered the harbor of Gloucester. The battle of Lexington had taken place in the preceding week; Boston was occupied by the British troops, and all intercourse with the country suspended. For this reason, the inhabitants of Gloucester proceeded to bury him with such marks of respect as the times would permit.* Everywhere, as a cotemporary tells us, "the multitude of the people were his mourners;" and he is still remembered with that peculiar interest which attaches to a proto-martyr, especially when, as in this case, he is cut off in the midst of a career of great promise.

On sailing from Boston, eight months before, he had left his wife in charge of the family, which then consisted of a son and a daughter. She had remained in town for some time after its military occupation by General Gage, being detained by the dangerous illness of both of these children. The daughter died April 13; after which, with her son, she hastened to join her parents, who, in the distracted state of the country in and about Boston, had retired to Norwich, in Connecticut. Here she received the intelligence of her husband's death,—a great sorrow, which cast its shadow over her whole subsequent life. All the accounts of this lady which have come down to us, represent her as being one of the most esteemed and attractive persons in the elevated circle in which she moved. But the heart of the young widowed mother was never weaned from its first love. "She survived her husband three and twenty years; his fame and memory being the chief solace of her life, and the perfect

* His remains were afterwards removed to the burial-ground in Quincy.

fulfilment of parental duty to their surviving child, its only object.”*

With this child, who had then just completed his third year, she continued to make part of her father's family, not only during his stay at Norwich, but after his return to Boston, until her son entered college. It was probably the circumstance that she thus had no proper home of her own, which made her less averse to placing him at a public school at the early age of six. Other things also conspired to recommend the step. The school proposed was Phillips Academy, in Andover, which her uncle and her cousin of that place, with the assistance of her father, had just founded. There he would always be near, and under the constant supervision of, those relatives; and there, also, the mother, in her frequent visits to them, would have opportunity to watch over his progress. The Academy was first opened April 30, 1778; and young Quincy was admitted early in the following month, his name standing the twenty-seventh on its roll.

During the eight years of his connection with that seminary, he boarded with the clergyman of the parish, the Rev. Mr. French. Such were the kindnesses and indulgences he there met with, that, in after-life, he always looked back on the Andover parsonage as a second home, and indeed as the only real home of his boyhood.† But, as might be presumed from the extreme youth of the pupil, things did not get on so well for some time in the school-room. The preceptor was Eliphalet Pearson, afterwards a professor in Harvard College, and at a later period in Andover Theological Institution,—a strict and vigorous disciplinarian of the old *régime*. Mr. Quincy, in a letter written not many years before his death, gives the following account of the methods adopted by this teacher, and of their effect on himself:—

* “Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy, jun., by his Son,” p. 29.

† For a full account of his obligations to the family, see Mr. Quincy's letter to Dr. Sprague, in “Annals of the American Pulpit,” vol. ii. pp. 44–48.

"He had the confidence of the parents and the public from his thoroughness. No boy was permitted to learn B, before he was perfect in all the relations of A. I was a great hand at marbles, and hunting the striped squirrel from the Academy to the parsonage; but, as to hunting down the pages of Cheever's *Accidence*, then our first book, I had neither will nor power. But there was the rule,—you must be perfect in it. I was kept in that book the whole of my seventh, and part of my eighth, year, until it was odious to me; and even now the very name of Cheever is, to my imagination, something of an *ogre*. Dr. Pearson's discipline was strict and severe, and, though naturally of a kind temperament, he governed by fear. It was the fashion of the time, imported from England, and thought to be essential to the advancement of learning. Dr. Pearson was a full convert to it, and an expert practitioner. I must be excused from writing on this point, as it would compel me *renovare dolores*. But, though a great sufferer under the ancient system of discipline, I must say it had some advantages over the modern."

The boy's progress in his studies for two or three years being slow, his teacher advised his mother to give up the plan of sending him to college. Happily for him, and happily for the College, she was not so easily discouraged. In due time, the natural development of his faculties, and of his characteristic energy and determination to succeed, began to put him in better relations with his books. A few months before he left the Academy, Dr. Pearson was called to a professorship at Cambridge; his place as preceptor being supplied by Dr. Ebenezer Pemberton, an experienced teacher of much repute in those days.* Under the instructions of this gentleman, he completed his preparatory course, and entered Harvard College in 1786, at the age of fourteen. There he immediately took a high position as a scholar, and, though one of the youngest in the class, graduated, in 1790, with its first honors.

* Ebenezer Pemberton, LL.D., grandson of the Old South pastor of the same name, had received his education in the College of New Jersey, and had been a teacher in that colony. President Madison and Aaron Burr are said to have been among his early pupils.

Immediately after graduating, he began the study of law in the office of the Hon. William Tudor, then a leading member of the Boston bar. His mother, as already intimated, had taken a house of her own when he entered college, that he might have an independent home in his vacations. The house was in Court Street, on ground now occupied by Tudor's Building. She resided there until after he had become a student at law, and then removed to a house in Federal Street, the site of which, with the garden, is now Sullivan Place. Soon afterward she established herself in a more spacious and eligible mansion, situated on the corner of Pearl and High Streets, which her father purchased in 1792 of the executors of Mr. Merchant; and there she continued to reside until her death. Meanwhile her son had completed his legal studies in the summer of 1793, and was admitted to the bar. At the Commencement in the same year, he also took his second degree at Harvard; and, according to a custom of that day, delivered what was then called "The Masters' Oration," his subject being "The Ideal Superiority of the Present Age in Literature and Politics."

Mr. Quincy was now twenty-one. His education, both academical and professional, had been accomplished, not only creditably, but with distinction; his family connections placed him at once in the best society, and he was looked upon as a young man of large expectations; to all which must be added, a handsome person, full of life and health. Yet it was at this age and in these circumstances that we find him laying down for himself a strict and almost stoical rule of life and duty. "It is not," he writes to a classmate, soon after they had left college, "it is not the natural brilliancy of wit and the flashes of imagination (which, by the world, is denominated genius) that are, in my opinion, to be envied. It is firmness of nerve,—that strength of mind which capacitates us for intense application and hard, laborious attention,—which is the soil where every laurel and every virtue is cultivated with

success." He affixed to his study-table, that it might be continually before his eyes, the following epigraph from Cicero : *Præclare Socrates hanc viam ad gloriam proximam et quasi compendiariam dicebat esse ; si quis id ageret, ut, qualis haberi vellet, talis esset.* And, to show how thoroughly his principles were carried into effect, a single anecdote will suffice. When a young lawyer in Boston, he joined a party who met at a fixed hour in the morning to play billiards, for exercise and amusement merely. He was fond of the game, and soon found he was looking at his watch to see if the appointed hour had arrived. This disposition alarmed him; he feared he should become too much interested in games of skill or chance, and immediately left the party and never met them again, notwithstanding the raillery of his associates.

That such a man would succeed in whatever he seriously undertook, was as certain as any thing can be in this world. What would have been the degree of his success in the law, if he had given himself wholly to it, and continued in it long enough to compete for its highest distinctions and rewards, we have no means of determining; for his attention was soon called away to politics and public life. He is understood to have regretted in after-years the last-mentioned circumstance; but, as it would seem, without reason. He undoubtedly yielded to the promptings of his nature; and these, when distinctly pronounced, are the best guide in such cases. And, besides, it is easy to see that his mind, though active on all subjects, was better fitted for that kind of activity which has to do with affairs, than with that which has to do with the settlement of principles and rules, or the investigation of truth. Then, too, he was his father's son; and there was this clause in his father's will: "I give to my son, when he shall arrive to the age of fifteen years, Algernon Sidney's Works, John Locke's Works, Lord Bacon's Works, Gordon's Tacitus, and Cato's Letters. May the spirit of liberty rest upon him!"

Under these influences, it is not strange that his thoughts and his ambition were early turned to the State. Meanwhile the community had begun to be agitated by novel and exciting questions, which threatened, in the opinion of many, the stability of our free institutions.* The contested adoption of the Constitution by the several States had given rise to the Federal and Democratic parties; and the antagonism thus occasioned was more and more intensified by the different views entertained in this country of the French Revolution, as it went on from one excess to another. All Mr. Quincy's convictions and tastes and associations inclined him to the conservative or Federal side, as representing the American idea of liberty, in contradistinction to the French idea of liberty. And, as it was not his habit to do things by halves or with reserves, he at once became an active member of the party, and from that time identified its interests with those of the whole people, and never wavered in his loyalty to it, through good report and through evil report. "To the day of his death," as his son has told us, "he professed and called himself a Federalist, and nothing else. Though, after the dispersion of the Federal party, he voted for the candidates of different parties, according to his estimation of their merits, he never regarded himself as belonging to any of them,—not even to the Republican party of his old age, though he gave

* As early as 1792, Mr. Quincy wrote to a friend what may now be regarded as prophecy. After noticing the disorder and violence attending at that time an election in New York, he goes on: "Whether Clinton has the advantage of Jay, or the Chief Justice of the Governor, neither you nor I have the materials or the inclination to decide. But if such animosity can be excited, such tumults fomented, by a dispute concerning the governmental chair of a single State, what will in some future period result from passions equally strong, minds in all probability less well-regulated, and numbers immensely increased, when roused by the claimants of a four-years' crown, with their blood rising in proportion to the dignity and importance of the office; when the South shall crown an Eumenes, and the North an Antipater. If such materials so disposed do not raise a conflagration, if such opportunities do not excite a Catiline to blow about the seeds of contention, or a Faux to apply a torch to this combustible pile, it will be because nature, or its God, has new-modelled the constitution of man. Our country seems to have this issue upon trial,—Whether man has virtue sufficient to restrain liberty from running into licentiousness."

his vote and the weight of his influence to its candidates and its policy.”*

Mr. Quincy was married June 6, 1797, to Eliza Susan Morton. Her father, Colonel John Morton, was a wealthy merchant in New York at the breaking out of the War of Independence. He was a zealous patriot, so liberal in his loans to the Government as to be called by the British, “The Rebel Banker,” by which his own fortune was considerably impaired. He had now been dead sixteen years. His widow, the bride’s mother, resided in a house at the corner of Pine and Water Streets, in New York, where the marriage ceremony took place; President Smith, from the College at Princeton, New Jersey, officiating on the occasion. From an autobiography of her early life left by Mrs. Quincy, I copy an account of the bridal journey to Boston, which reads strangely in these days of steamboats and railroads:—

“We travelled pleasantly in a private carriage and four, and reached Marlborough, Massachusetts, on the evening of the eighth day of our journey. The next day, at noon, we saw a carriage approach, which brought Mr. Quincy’s mother, accompanied by his cousins, Miriam Phillips and Hannah Storer, whom she had selected as appropriate attendants on her new daughter. Mrs. Quincy was then fifty-three years of age, still retaining traces of great personal beauty, with a fine expression of countenance, and cordial and graceful manners. Her dress united richness and elegance with propriety and taste. I was much agitated at the thought of this meeting; but, from the moment I saw her, and received her first welcome and embrace, I felt at ease, and sure that we should promote each other’s happiness. Mr. Quincy’s satisfaction was complete when he beheld me with his mother, and surrounded by approving friends. The next day, we had a very gay journey to Boston in the carriage with Mrs. Quincy and her com-

* This extract is from an interesting and valuable memoir of Mr. Quincy, which appeared in the “New-York Daily Tribune” for July 8, 1864, a little more than a week after his death. It is understood to have been written by his son, Mr. Edmund Quincy; and the reader will find that we are under repeated obligations to it. Through the kindness of the family, we have also had access to letters and other manuscripts, which have been of great use in preparing this biographical notice.

panions, sending our luggage by the one which had brought us from New York. We drove over Cambridge Bridge, and through Boston, to the residence of Mrs. Quincy, in Pearl Street, where she again welcomed us to her home."

A happier matrimonial connection could not have been formed. By her delicacy of character, calm judgment, and literary culture, Mrs. Quincy was admirably qualified to preside over her husband's house with grace and dignity, and at the same time to enter into and share his best thoughts, and be his companion and adviser in all things. But their bright prospects, after a few short months, were suddenly clouded by the sickness and death of Mr. Quincy's mother. The event was unexpected, and widely deplored; yet all felt it to be a natural and impressive termination of the great purpose of her life, which was to bring up her son to be worthy of his name, and see him established in the world. Her work was done.*

In 1798, Mr. Quincy delivered the oration on the anniversary of American Independence, before the citizens of Boston. This is the first of his acknowledged productions which have been transmitted to us by the press. It is also, both in matter and manner, a characteristic performance, and seems to have attracted considerable attention at the time; for the copy now before us is a Philadelphia reprint of the Boston edition. The orator begins by recounting the principal causes which endangered the liberties of the Colonies; and then shows, or undertakes to show, that similar causes were still at work, under other names and connections, threatening the liberties of the United States. It was no longer England and her emissaries, but France and her emissaries. "The black whirlwind, which spreads disorder and desolation over the face of Europe, curls threatening towards our shores." In

* In the "Columbian Centinel" for March 28, 1798, there is an obituary notice of this lady, from the pen of Dr. Kirkland.

one word, it is an earnest and fearless statement of the imminent perils of the country, as apprehended at that time, from the Federal point of view.

At the election for members of Congress, in 1800, Mr. Quincy was the Federal candidate in the Suffolk district. He was then but twenty-eight; at a time, too, when years weighed much more than they do now as a qualification for office. And besides, party lines, at least with the mass of the people, were not yet so distinctly drawn as afterwards; a circumstance which enabled the supporters of the rival candidate, Dr. William Eustis, to urge with greater effect his larger experience and his Revolutionary services. Dr. Eustis was chosen by a small majority. In April, 1804, Mr. Quincy was elected a member of the Massachusetts Senate, and took an active part in the business of that body during its summer session. But in the following November, before his term of service there had expired, he was again put in competition with Dr. Eustis for the office of representative in Congress. This time his friends prevailed by a decided vote, as they also did at his three successive re-elections; after which he voluntarily retired, partly for political, and partly for domestic and personal reasons.

In reviewing Mr. Quincy's Congressional career, every one must be impressed by the vigor, intelligence, and inflexible constancy with which he maintained what he conceived to be the vital interests of the country. Reference is often made to a few vehement expressions and acts of his, provoked by the extreme measures of the day, as if they were a fair specimen of his public conduct; but this is not the case. Scarcely a single question of importance came up for consideration by Congress, during the eight years he was a member of that body, on which he did not speak at length, discussing it on its merits. His language is always terse and strong; his information full and exact, showing how thoroughly he had prepared himself for the work by a careful study of the his-

tory and resources of this country and its foreign relations, of the dangers and safeguards of free governments, and of international law. As a parliamentary orator, judged by his printed speeches, he stands among the foremost this country has produced. Where his only aim is to enlighten or convince, the reasoning is often singularly compact and lucid; as in his speech "on Fortifying the Coasts and Harbors," and in that "on Establishing a Navy." Occasionally, as in what he says of New England and his native State, in a speech "on Submission to the Edicts of Great Britain and France," he indulges in bursts of enthusiasm and flights of fancy, which were much applauded at the time, and are still read with pleasure. In bitter and scornful sarcasm he was unrivalled, the consciousness of which tempted him to resort to this mode of attack oftener, perhaps, than was well; but the debate "on the Influence of Place and Patronage" afforded him ample and legitimate scope for it. It has been said of the speech made by him on this occasion, that it ought to be printed and glazed, and hung up in every office of every office-holder in the land. John Adams, though dissenting from several of its positions, pronounced "the eloquence masterly, and the satire inimitable," unsurpassed by any thing in Juvenal or Swift.

Mr. Quincy has been sometimes blamed for the violence of his attacks on the Administration. This is one of those points on which the party in power and the party out of power can never be expected to agree. Even as a question of general casuistry, it is not easy to settle, on purely ethical grounds, precisely how far such opposition can be carried in great national issues, and especially in time of war, without becoming factious or unpatriotic. When the Emperor Alexander was in London, in 1814, he told one of the great Whig lords that he liked the working of the Opposition Party, in England, on the whole; "but would it not be still better," he asked, "if they were to communicate their objections to the

ministry *in private*?" Of course, Mr. Quincy entertained no scruples of this kind; indeed, to a people accustomed to free speech and a free press, the suggestion is simply ludicrous. The only practical rule would seem to be, for every one to expose and denounce what he conceives to be alarming public abuses. If the abuses really exist, the people should know it; if not, let the charge be refuted. To the objection that the best governments may be weakened or obstructed by such attacks, and this, too, in times of difficulty and peril, when their energies are taxed to the utmost, the answer is obvious. Where the people are used to unrestrained party recrimination, they soon learn how to understand it, and make the proper allowances; nay, more, if unreasonable or ill-timed, it is much more likely to injure the party from which it proceeds, than the party against which it is directed. And, besides, even if some inconvenience is occasioned thereby, it must be accepted as a necessary condition of liberty; or, at any rate, as part of the price usually paid for it.

Never, in the history of this country, has the Opposition felt called upon to speak out more boldly than at the time when Mr. Quincy was in Congress. The old leaders of the Federal party had taken an active part in laying the foundations of the existing Government; they had also been among the steady supporters of Washington's policy. It has sometimes been said, that they were the friends of *order*, rather than of *liberty*; but there is not much ground for this distinction. They had just seen the wild and impracticable notions of liberty prevalent in France end in a remorseless military despotism; and, to their excited imaginations, things in this country were rapidly drifting in the same direction. Liberty, as well as order, at least to their apprehension, was in imminent danger; but what could they do to save either? Reduced to an inconsiderable minority in the national and most of the State governments, neither their counsels nor

their votes were of any avail; leaving them no power but that of protest, pushed to the verge of resistance.

Whoever is familiar with the newspapers and political pamphlets of that day, will not need to be informed, that Mr. Quincy, in his most solemn warnings and vehement denunciations, seldom, if ever, went beyond the party he represented. Indeed, there were questions on which he did not go so far. In 1808, he voted with the majority on the resolution, "that the United States cannot, without a sacrifice of their rights, honor, and independence, submit to the edicts of Great Britain and France;" and, in 1811, on the bill for augmenting the land forces. Again, in 1812, he not only voted for the Government measure "to establish a navy," but made one of his ablest speeches in its favor. He also professed his readiness at all times to intrust the Executive with abundant means for putting the country in a state of defence. Moreover, injustice has often been done to the Federal Opposition in Congress, by inferring its general character from single and extreme acts; in proof of which it would be easy to adduce testimony not to be suspected of partiality. A single instance will suffice. The debate on the short Embargo immediately preceding the declaration of war against Great Britain had been continued until seven o'clock in the evening, and the Administration was anxious to hurry the bill through. In this state of things, Mr. Quincy expressed a desire to speak on the question, so extremely interesting to his immediate constituents, but was unable to do so from fatigue, unless the House would consent to an adjournment. An adjournment was therefore advocated by Mr. Williams, of South Carolina, and Mr. Macon, of North Carolina, both of them leading Democrats; the former assigning as a reason for the indulgence, that "the deportment of the other side of the House had, during the whole of the session, been very gentlemanly towards the majority." Mr. Macon went farther still: "He thought the minority had acted with more propriety than he

ever knew in a minority." Even Mr. Wright, of Maryland, though opposed to the adjournment, "was willing to acknowledge the minority had conducted with propriety."

But occasionally there were stormy times. The following is an extract from a letter from Washington, dated Jan. 20, 1809: * —

"Yesterday and to-day there has been in the House of Representatives one of the warmest and most impassioned discussions ever witnessed by a legislative assembly, on the bill for the next meeting of Congress. Mr. Quincy made an attack on the Administration, which called forth all the virulence of the Executive phalanx; and, to-day, Campbell and Jackson went into the House, with the apparent determination to reduce him to the same necessity to which Gardenier was forced last session. Irritated by his attacks, and unable to answer him, they poured out upon him a torrent of gross and illiberal abuse. Mr. Quincy, in reply, stated specifically his ground, and told them that his honor was of little worth if it lay in the mouths of *such* men, and not in his own conduct. He was no *duellist*. He had the honor to represent, not only a wise, a moral, a powerful and intellectual, but a religious people; that, among them, to avenge wrongs of words, by resorting to the course of conduct to which it was obviously intended to reduce him, was so far from being honorable, that it would be a disgrace to any man. To gain the temporary applause of such men as his assailants, whom he could only pity and despise, he should not sacrifice his own principles, nor forfeit the respect of those whose good opinion was the highest reward of his life. If they expected by such artifices to deter him from doing his duty, they would find themselves mistaken. Where *he was known*, nothing they could say would *injure him*; and where *they were known*, he believed the effect would *not be greater*."

Brought up in New England, and professing to be a man of moral and religious principle, he could, of course, take no other ground than he did on the subject of duelling; but his open and manly way of avowing it won general admiration. Mr. Buckminster did but utter the common sentiment, when

* First published in the "New England Palladium," Jan. 31, 1809.

he said "he would rather be the author of that retort of his, than of all the speeches he ever made, however eloquent or effective." He also had another motive for being thus explicit. Only a fortnight before, his friends in Boston and Quincy had been startled by a rumor, which, from the difficulty of communication at that time, remained uncontradicted for several days, that he had actually fallen in an affair of honor, so called. He was glad of an opportunity to set their minds at rest on that point. As, however, some fears were entertained of an attack in the streets, Mr. Lloyd insisted on arming him with a brace of pistols, carefully loaded by himself, which he consented to wear for a few days, and then threw aside. He probably was never in any real danger; there was something in his look and bearing which did not encourage an assault. And, besides, it is interesting to know, that much of the indignation expressed against him on the floor of Congress did not grow out of personal or even party hostility, but was merely for political effect at home. One of the Western members was frank enough to tell him, that he was hated in his district more than any other man in the country, except perhaps Colonel Pickering. "So," says he, "I must go on abusing you, or I shall lose my next election. But I hope we shall be good friends notwithstanding."

How little he cared for such things appears from the fact, that, within a week after the scene just described, he gave occasion to another of the same kind. The latter, indeed, as the story is commonly told, would seem to have been little better than an act of Quixotism on his part; but it is because the circumstances which led to it, and his real objects, are kept out of sight:—

"The facts," as his son tells us, "were these. General Lincoln, of the Revolution, was appointed Collector of Boston, by President Washington, and held the office down to 1809. His infirmities of age and health, however, had made him desirous of resigning his post; and in November, 1806, he had sent in his resignation [or wish to resign].

Mr. Jefferson asked him, as a personal favor, to retain the place until the next March. To this he consented, but in March no successor was appointed; and, after waiting till September, he again requested to be relieved, stating his entire inability to perform the duties of his office. To this communication he never received any answer at all; and he was compelled to remain in office, although he had not been able to be in Boston for nearly a year. This office had thus been kept virtually vacant for more than two years, as a provision for General Henry Dearborn, Mr. Jefferson's Secretary of War, after his term of office should have expired."*

To Mr. Quincy's strict notions of public duty, this sort of favoritism in the bestowment of Executive patronage, involving, as it did in the present instance, the retention in an important office for so long a time of a person known to be wholly incompetent to its duties, amounted to "a high misdemeanor," deserving the notice and action of Congress. Nor was this all. While he was meditating what to do, an article appeared in the "National Intelligencer," the organ of the Government, stigmatizing General Lincoln as "a Federalist, whom *the forbearance of the Administration* had long retained in office, in opposition to the wishes of a respectable class in the community." Incensed at the false impression which such a statement was calculated to make on the public mind, Mr. Quincy was determined that the whole truth should be known. Accordingly, he rose in his place in the House on that very morning, as soon as the business of the day began,

* These facts are given more at length, in a letter to Mr. Quincy from Benjamin Weld, Esq., Assistant-Collector of Boston, dated Jan. 19, 1809. The writer says, "Early in the month of November, 1806, General Lincoln wrote to the President of the United States, stating his infirmities and advanced years, and requested to resign at the end of the year. The President returned an answer which was received in December, which, after some flattering compliments on his Revolutionary services, requested the General to give him a little longer time to look out for a suitable character to fill his office, and limited the time to the last of March following, beyond which, he assured him, he should not be detained. The General in reply said, 'The wishes of the President should be a law to him.'" General Lincoln's request was afterwards urgently renewed; but no attention whatever was paid to it for nearly two years. Mr. Weld says, "That the office has been kept for General D., there is not the least doubt; he has intimated it himself to persons who have told me in confidence."

and, after stating the facts he was prepared to prove, moved the two following resolutions: First, that the President be requested to communicate the correspondence respecting General Lincoln's resignation; and, secondly, that a Committee be appointed to inquire into the causes which have prevented that resignation from being accepted, and report the result. A violent debate ensued, and, when the vote was taken on the question, "Shall the Resolutions be adopted?" it stood, yeas, 1; nays, 117.

In looking back on this affair, we need not suppose that Mr. Quincy submitted his motion in the expectation that it would lead to an *impeachment*, or even so much as bring up the question in that form. Before the vote was taken, his main purpose had been accomplished, which was to expose the conduct of the President. Having done this, it would have been in order for him to withdraw his motion; but, as such a step might be construed into a shrinking from responsibility, he chose rather to let it take its course. Characteristically enough, he told the House, that "neither the asperities of his political opponents, nor the disagreement of his political friends, would change his mind on a subject which he had well considered. If he was in an error concerning the charge, or rather allegation, he had made, he was willing to stand before the nation in support of it. It gave him no sort of pain or anxiety." The motion was made at the opening of the morning's session, which then began at nine o'clock. At twelve o'clock the same day, General Dearborn's nomination was sent to the Senate.*

* Mr. Randall, in his "Life of Thomas Jefferson," vol. iii. p. 289, dwells on the Revolutionary services of General Lincoln. But it was not for these that he was detained in office against his will by Mr. Jefferson. Again, he says, it was no "hardship" to be complained of on the part of the General or his friends, that he continued to receive a salary of five thousand dollars a year for doing nothing. Perhaps not; but, nevertheless, it might be connected with an abuse of Executive patronage; and, besides, the responsibility under the circumstances was felt and declared to be a "hardship." Finally, he says of Lincoln's resignation, that it was "never actually sent in

There was also another passage in Mr. Quincy's Congressional life which deserves notice, because it has been made the ground of representing him as the first asserter in the National legislature of the right of secession. It occurred Jan. 14, 1811, in the debate on "admitting the Territory of Orleans into the Union as an Independent State." In a constitutional argument on that question, he was led to say:—

"I am compelled to declare it as my deliberate opinion, that, if this bill passes, the bonds of this Union are virtually dissolved; that the States which compose it are free from their moral obligations; and that as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, to prepare definitely for a separation,—amicably if they can, violently if they must."

"Mr. Quincy was here called to order by Mr. Poindexter.

"Mr. Quincy repeated and justified the remark he had made, which, to save all misapprehension, he committed to writing in the following words: 'If this bill passes, it is my deliberate opinion that it is virtually a dissolution of this Union; that it will free the States from their moral obligation; and as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, definitely to prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must.'

"After some confusion, Mr. Poindexter required the decision of the Speaker, whether it was consistent with the propriety of debate, to use such an expression. He said it was radically wrong for any member to use arguments going to dissolve the Government, and tumble this body itself to dust and ashes. It would be found, from the gentleman's statement of his language, that he had declared the right of any portion of the people to separate—

"Mr. Quincy wished the Speaker to decide; for, if the gentleman was permitted to debate the question, he should lose one-half of his speech.

"The Speaker decided, that great latitude in debate was generally

until after the passage of the Enforcing Law," which took place about a fortnight only before the appointment of Dearborn. The statement is, perhaps, true so far as this, that Lincoln from courtesy contented himself with pressing his request, and allowed himself to be put off until the passage of that Act. He is then understood to have written to the President, "that he had fought for the liberties of his country, and spent his best years in her service; and that he was not, in his old age, to be made an instrument to violate what he had assisted to acquire."

allowed; and that, by way of argument against the bill, the first part of the gentleman's observations was admissible; but the latter member of the sentence, viz., 'That it would be the duty of some States to prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must,' was contrary to the order of debate.

"Mr. Quincy appealed from this decision, and required the yeas and nays on the appeal. The question was thus stated: 'Is the decision of the Speaker correct?' And decided, fifty-three yeas; fifty-six nays. So the decision of the Speaker was reversed; Mr. Quincy's observations were declared to be in order, and he proceeded."*

Such is the record. The first reflection suggested by it is, that the House, though composed of political opponents in the proportion of two to one, pronounced his remarks "in order." No doubt many of them acted on the principle, that language elicited in the heat of an impassioned debate is not to be interpreted to the letter. Above all, the purpose, the drift of the speaker should be considered; which, in the present case, was not to threaten, but to warn; not a plot to destroy the Union, but anxiety to save it. On resuming his speech, Mr. Quincy said, "When I spoke of the separation of the States as resulting from the violation of the Constitution contemplated in this bill, I spoke of it as a necessity deeply to be deprecated; but as resulting from causes so certain and obvious, as to be absolutely inevitable, when the effect of the principle is practically experienced. It is to preserve, to guard the constitution of my country, that I denounce this attempt."—"The voice I have uttered, at which gentlemen startle with such agitation, is no unfriendly voice: I intend it as a voice of warning."†

* Benton's Abridgment of the Debates of Congress, vol. iv. p. 327.

† His purpose and drift in this speech are made still more apparent from the following account of it, given at the time in a private letter to Mrs. Quincy: "I used strong language, because, by calling on the North to separate, I knew it would rouse the Southern men, who, though they are eternally throwing out threats of separation *themselves*, and thus govern the country with a rod of iron, yet tremble like aspen leaves at such a proposition coming from the North. I answered my purpose fully. The House were so arrested by my boldness, that they heard me throughout; and Poin-dexter has made my position so prominent, that I have no doubt the nation will do the

Precisely what he meant by releasing the old States from "their *moral* obligations" to the Union, is not clear. If he merely meant, that persistence in an *open* and *avowed* violation of the original terms of the compact on the part of the Government would render that compact morally null and void, the doctrine is incontestable. But, if the alleged violation here complained of was really open and avowed, that is to say, acknowledged to be a violation on all sides, why go into an elaborate argument, as he does, to prove what nobody denied?* On the other hand, if the violation was asserted by one party, and denied by the other,—this being one of the principal questions at issue, as the debate shows,—it certainly was not competent for any State, as such, to decide the question for itself, and act accordingly. At the same time it is proper to observe, that Mr. Quincy's doctrine, however construed or judged, differs essentially, both in nature and extent, from that out of which the great Southern secession arose; the latter being, that any State, by virtue of its sovereignty alone, has a right to secede from the Union for any cause deemed sufficient by itself, no matter whether the Constitution has been violated or not.

same. If people in our part of the Union are tame on this question, which I deem both in principle and consequences the most important ever debated, they deserve to be, what they will be, *slaves*, and to no desirable masters."

* Mr. Jefferson, as a "strict constructionist," had, it is true, entertained scruples on this subject at the time of the original purchase of Louisiana; but they were not shared, certainly not to the same extent, by his party in Congress,—not even by the Southern members. In this very debate, Mr. Macon, of North Carolina, admitted that the constitutional objection, if well-founded, ought to prevail; and this, too, notwithstanding any stipulations in the treaty of cession to the contrary. "It is never too late," said he, "to return to the Constitution." Mr. Jefferson himself was induced at length to acquiesce, consistently or inconsistently, in a more liberal interpretation of that instrument on the point in question,—an interpretation, we may add, which has since been acted on repeatedly without much opposition, though it has never come up for adjudication in the Supreme Court. "At the present day," says Judge Story, "few statesmen are to be found who seriously contest the constitutionality of the Acts respecting either the Embargo, or the purchase and admission of Louisiana into the Union. The general voice of the nation has sustained and supported them." (Commentaries on the Constitution, vol. iii. p. 168.)—Perhaps such questions should be regarded as *political* rather than as *juridical*.

But it was not in debate alone that Mr. Quincy evinced his zeal to serve his constituents. The representative of a large commercial district like Boston, besides his proper official charge in Congress, is expected to mediate between individuals and the Government in a multitude of difficulties and grievances incident to foreign traffic, and to keep a vigilant eye on the bearing of every new measure on their interests. This care, always onerous, was made doubly so at the time in question, by what has been called the anti-commercial policy of the Administration; but Mr. Quincy, to whom work throughout life was not so much a duty as a passion, neglected nothing. A single instance will illustrate his vigor and promptness. The dominant party having come to the conclusion, in the spring of 1812, to declare war against Great Britain, had made up their minds to impose an embargo of sixty days as a preliminary step:—

“Mr. Calhoun, on the eve of reporting this bill, communicated the purpose to Mr. Quincy, as the representative of a commercial district, in order that there might be no pretence of a surprise. Mr. Quincy at once advised with Mr. Lloyd, one of the Massachusetts senators, and instantly dispatched a special messenger to Boston with the intelligence. This courier accomplished the distance in what was then regarded as the incredibly short time of seventy-two hours. In consequence of this dispatch, great numbers of ships were loaded and sent to sea, neither the night nor the Sabbath interrupting the work of necessity, before the news arrived by the regular channels. Mr. Calhoun was not well pleased with this speedy advantage taken of his intelligence; but, as there was no particular purpose of pleasing him in the matter, it was of the less consequence.”*

Mr. Quincy's fourth term of office as member of Congress expired in March, 1813. He had declined being considered a candidate for re-election, much to the regret of his political friends; but he could not be turned from his purpose. One

* Memoir in the New York Tribune.

reason was, that he had become weary of leading the forlorn hope of Federalism in the national councils; and the more so, as Federalism was beginning to be a house divided against itself. He was also influenced, in no small measure, by domestic considerations. For three winters he had taken his family with him to Washington; but this course, as the family increased, was attended by difficulty and expense he was unwilling to incur. He was therefore under the necessity of being separated from his wife and children for a considerable portion of every year; a great sacrifice to a man of his tastes and habits, and one which he did not feel called upon to make any longer, especially as he now saw that the most strenuous opposition to democratic measures, in the existing state of parties, would be of no avail.*

In thus withdrawing from Congress, at least until better times, it was no part of Mr. Quincy's plan to retire from public life. He was immediately elected by substantially the same constituency to his former place in the Senate of Massachusetts, and continued an active and influential member of that body for seven years, from 1813 to 1820. Here he acted with the majority, and took his full share of the responsibility in moulding and determining the policy of this State during the last war with England.

Early in the June session of 1813, he was appointed chairman of a Committee to consider the recent formation of "new States without the territorial limits of the United States." His report is a restatement of the doctrine advanced in his Congressional speeches on this subject, though under a somewhat mitigated form. The measure is denounced, not as

* The vexation and despondency which had already taken possession of some of the best minds in the Federal party, may be judged of by the following passage, taken from a letter of Fisher Ames to Mr. Quincy, while the latter was in Congress: "I declare to you, I fear Federalism will not only die, but all remembrance of it be lost. As a party, it is still good for every thing it ever was good for; that is to say, to cry 'fire' and 'stop thief,' when Jacobinism attempts to burn and rob. It never had the power to put out the fire, or to seize the thief." — *Works of Fisher Ames*, vol. i. p. 391.

justifying, but as "tending to the dissolution of the Confederacy."

A few days afterwards, it was proposed to the Senate to pass certain resolves, in commendation of the gallantry and good conduct of Captain Lawrence, in the capture of a British brig of war. Similar resolves had been passed by both branches of the Legislature, in favor of other naval commanders; they had also been passed by the House, in this particular case, by a unanimous vote. In the Senate, however, they were now met by the famous preamble and resolution submitted by Mr. Quincy, declaring among other things, "that in a war like the present, waged without justifiable cause and prosecuted in a manner which indicates that conquest and ambition are its real motives, it is not becoming a moral and religious people to express any approbation of military or naval exploits which are not immediately connected with the defence of the coast and the soil." The passage of this resolution was regarded at the time as a triumph of the "conscientious Federalists," so called; it never had the approval of many of the leading members of the party, especially among the Boston merchants, who doubted the wisdom of speaking in this way of the victories achieved by our arms, and who were also concerned about their own interests, and fond of making a distinction in favor of the navy over the land forces. In the Democratic journals, it was everywhere fiercely denounced as "moral treason."

The unequal burdens and hardships imposed on New England by the Embargo, and afterwards by the war, continued to bear more and more heavily on the people, and produced a wide-spread spirit of discontent. This effect was still further aggravated by a suspicion, well or ill founded, that the South and West were in a conspiracy to cripple and destroy commerce, on which New England mainly depended for its wealth and prosperity, and to introduce Mr. Jefferson's "Chinese" policy. Under these circumstances the Hartford Convention

assembled, in 1814; not (as we believe is now generally conceded) to increase or give effect to the disaffection, but to control it and keep it within constitutional limits. Mr. Quincy's relations to the whole movement are thus indicated by his son:—

“When the Legislature of Massachusetts came to appoint delegates, they omitted to elect Mr. Quincy. They were afraid to trust his impetuous temperament and fiery earnestness. They thought that he would represent too well the spirit of those who demanded the Convention. He always described the Convention as ‘a Tub to the Whale,’ as a dilatory measure to amuse the malcontents and make them believe that something was doing for their relief, and keep them quiet under inaction, until events might make action necessary. And this did actually happen. One day, while the public attention was fixed upon the Convention, then sitting with closed doors, a friend met Mr. Quincy in the street, and said, ‘What do you suppose will be the result of this Convention?’—‘I can tell you exactly,’ he replied. ‘Indeed,’ exclaimed the other; ‘pray what will it be?’—‘A GREAT PAMPHLET,’ was his answer; and it was even so.”

But it would be doing great injustice to Mr. Quincy to suppose, that his thoughts, as a legislator, were wholly or mainly occupied on questions of party politics. He was ever ready with his earnest and effective support of well-considered schemes for reform in prison discipline and in the poor-laws, for the relief of insolvent debtors, for the encouragement of agriculture and popular education, and, in short, for all philanthropic measures. Indeed, it was his independent course in respect to some of these measures, as well as the stand he took in 1819, with a small minority composed mostly of Democrats, against the separation of the District of Maine,*

* The first bill passed by the Legislature on this subject, in 1816, was not accepted by the people of Maine. When the second, which really went into effect, was under consideration, in 1819, Mr. Quincy resisted it strenuously in an eloquent and characteristic speech of two hours, in which he says: “Three years since, when a bill containing similar provisions to that which is now on the table was passed, it was my misfortune to be compelled to give it at this Board my *solitary* negative.” He still stood alone in the Committee, a circumstance which he thus notices: “I call this situation of mine a

which had the effect seriously to compromise his popularity with the managers of his own party. The consequence was, that, in making up the ticket for senators, in 1820, his name was dropped.* His personal and many of his political friends were offended at this step; and, being determined that the public should not lose his services, they succeeded in getting him elected to the House. Soon after taking his seat in that body, Mr. Mills, the Speaker, resigned, and he was called to the chair, — a place which he continued to hold until January, 1822, when he also resigned, in order to accept the appointment of Judge of the Municipal Court, in Boston.

Mr. Quincy's political life may be said to have now closed. This is the less to be regretted, inasmuch as the Federal party, the only party to which he ever properly belonged, was fast breaking up. The Federalists had never entirely

misfortune; for, if I know myself, I am not ambitious of that sort of distinction which arises from mere singularity, either in conduct or opinion. I have accordingly, and sedulously too, endeavored to raise a doubt upon this question; but I cannot. I could as well doubt of my own existence as doubt of the unconstitutionality of this bill. And, on an occasion of such magnitude and solemnity, he who cannot doubt, cannot compromise." When the final question was taken in the Senate, the votes were, — yeas, 26; nays, 11.

* A communication to the "Boston Daily Advertiser" for April 18, 1820, understood to be from Mr. John Lowell, throws light on this transaction. "Why," the writer asks, "are the county of Suffolk and the State deprived of the experience and talents of Mr. Quincy? To him the result will probably be beneficial, since it has given him an opportunity, most honorable to his character, of showing his magnanimity and disinterestedness. I would rather enjoy the triumph which that gentleman won at the late Federal caucus, than to have the unanimous suffrages of a fickle and ungrateful party. No: I will not say *party*, because I believe that at least three-quarters of the Federal party, left to their unbiassed suffrages, not alarmed by reports that Mr. Quincy would not be supported, and that, of course, their exertions to secure his election would be in vain, would have given them their unqualified and zealous support. The fault I find with this issue is, that it seems to hold out to the world an opinion that something more than uncorrupted integrity, unquestionable purity of manners and character, cultivated understanding, long experience in public affairs, and an ardent zeal to promote the honor and interests of the country, and the cause of religion and science, is expected of our rulers. And what is this something more that we expect? Is it a time-serving spirit and flattering manners? Is it dereliction of principle to preserve one's popularity? I repeat it, I would rather be Josiah Quincy, urging in a private assembly his fellow-citizens to do their duty, and to unite in favor of a list from which his own name was ungratefully excluded, than to have had the unanimous applause of both parties."

recovered from their misunderstanding with John Adams, and still less from the defection of his son; but the actual dissolution of the party, at least as a national one, is commonly dated from the so-called "era of good feelings," introduced at the inauguration of President Monroe, in 1817. So rapid and complete was this dissolution, that, on the reconstruction of parties at the election of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency, in 1824, nothing was left of Federalism,—not even the name. Few if any instances are on record of a party of equal merit and renown passing away so suddenly and so entirely. It has been succeeded in Massachusetts by parties of various denominations, some of which must have found difficulty in telling what they *were*; but all knew what they were *not*,—they were *not* Federalists. To the last, however, Mr. Quincy was "faithful found among the faithless," yet with a clear understanding that the old party could never be revived. In reply to a letter written to him in 1847, on the subject of a "History of Federalism," he says:—

"It is not, however, to be concealed, that there is now no such thing possible as the return of such influences. The circumstances of our country no longer permit any such purity of motives, as characterized the Federal policy, to be either a general or an efficient principle of party action. The Federal leaders had a clear stage. They were not embarrassed by precedents or examples. They had a homogeneous population to guide, not a composite of all nations and languages. They had for the basis of their power the character and influences of Washington, whose virtues, tried through the War of the Revolution, gave a weight and secured a popularity for their measures, which no future combination of men can hope to attain or possess. . . . The principles of Federalism lasted in power but twelve years, and in purity can never be restored to it. *Opposuit Natura.*"

Seventeen of the best years of Mr. Quincy's life had been given to legislation and statesmanship. Before passing to other topics, it may be well to consider how far his political theories have been confirmed by events.

These theories, as entertained at that time, are best expressed in his "Oration before the Washington Benevolent Society," delivered by him in 1813, soon after his retirement from Congress. According to him, the principal danger to be apprehended in this country was from the disturbance of "the proportions of political power," occasioned "partly by the operation of the slave-ratio in the Constitution, and partly by the unexampled emigration into the West." As a natural consequence, the preponderance of the old States would be gradually transferred to the new; and, what is worse, a new national policy would be established favorable to the agricultural States, and adverse to the commercial States. New England must, perhaps, submit to this up to a certain point, as "the fair result of *the compact*."

"We had agreed," says he, "that all the people within the ancient limits of the United States should be placed on the same footing, and had granted an undoubted right to Congress to admit States at will, *within the ancient limits*. We had done more; we had submitted to throw our rights and liberties, and those of our children, into a common stock with the Southern men and their slaves, and had agreed to be content with what remained after they and their negroes were served."

But the admission of Louisiana into the Union, deemed by him clearly unconstitutional, had put a new face on the whole transaction. Our allegiance to "a certain extrinsic association called the United States" is limited by the condition, that "the principles of the Constitution should be preserved inviolate."—"Whether any such violation has occurred, or whether it be such as essentially affects the securities of their rights and liberties, are questions which the people of the associated States are competent, not only to discuss, but *to decide*." His conclusion is, that "the people of this country have but two events between which to select, and that at no distant period of time: either to put an end to this oppression, and the chance of its recurrence, by a new and amicable

modification of the proportions and powers of the Constitution; or to worry along a little farther, until the weight of grievances produce convulsions which will put an end to the Constitution." *

Time has sanctioned some of these speculations, and set aside others. He was certainly among the first to see, in all its extent, the danger to be apprehended from the slaveholding power. Occupied almost exclusively with the political aspects of slavery, there was no man in those early days so profoundly impressed by the conviction, that out of that institution would grow jealousies and contentions which would shake the Union to its foundations. So far, he is to be reckoned among the prophets. But in other respects his forebodings, or many of them at least, though shared by some of the best and wisest men of his party, have not been fulfilled. New England, by adding manufactures to commerce, and bringing to both the exhaustless resources of free and skilled labor, has never ceased to prosper under the Constitution as it was, and as it is. Again, he did not make sufficient account of the many ties of interest and sympathy

* There can be no doubt that the views here advanced were generally entertained by the party, not excepting its Southern members. Alexander C. Hanson, of Baltimore, wrote: "You mistake the feelings and wishes of the Federalists with whom I communicate, if you suppose the language of your oration too strong, or your suggestions offensive. Our only fear was, that the leading men of Massachusetts would lack boldness. We groan and sweat under domestic tyranny, as much as our brethren in the New-England States; we turn an anxious eye on your proceedings, and receive your speech as a pledge of actions suitable to such language. Our only chance for relief and salvation depends on the vigor and intrepidity of the New-England States. There is a short and sure road to relief; and, sooner or later, it must be taken. The South and West will continue to govern us as long as the North and East are willing to be governed."

What John Randolph, who belonged to no party, thought of this oration, is thus expressed to one of his correspondents: "Mr. Quincy sent me a copy of his speech of the 30th of last month. It is a composition of much ability and depth of thought; but it indicates a spirit and a temper to the North which is more a subject of regret than of surprise. The grievances of Lord North's administration were but a feather in the scale, when compared with those inflicted by Jefferson and Madison." (Garland's "Life of John Randolph.") — Mr. Quincy is said to have been almost the only friend of Randolph with whom he never quarrelled.

between the free Atlantic States and the free inland States, new as well as old, which, in a great national struggle, were almost sure to enlist them on the same side. Neither could he foresee that vast network of railroad communication which is now doing so much to bind together the East and the West, and secure the prosperity of both.

Moreover, the theory of the Constitution advanced by him in Congress, and re-affirmed, as we understand it, in this oration, is not that which is now generally held, at least by loyal men. How can any State or section of States proceed "to discuss and decide" the perilous question, whether the Constitution has been violated, or not, without usurping the authority which that very Constitution has expressly delegated to the Supreme Court? So that, even if the Constitution were to be regarded as a simple and ordinary "compact," dependent for its obligation on the continued fulfilment of all its conditions, the right contended for could not be sustained. In point of fact, however, according to the highest authority on this subject, the Constitution, in strictness of language, is not a *compact* at all, but a *government founded on a compact*,—a government thenceforth resting on its own power to enforce its own will. "When the people agree to erect a government, and actually erect it, the thing is done, and the agreement is at an end. The compact is executed, and the end designed by it attained."* On this doctrine, and, as it would seem, on this doctrine alone, can a coerced Union, or a Union restored by force, be reconciled with republican principles or the right of self-government.

At the same time, the enlightened and candid historian, in pronouncing judgment on the positions taken by the Federalists at the period now under consideration, will make large allowance for the difference between the circumstances under

* Mr. Webster's Speech in the Senate of the United States, Feb. 16, 1838, in opposition to the resolutions submitted by Mr. Calhoun.

which they lived and thought, and those under which we live and think. It has been said of Tycho Brahe, that, *with the evidence as it then stood*, he was right in maintaining his false theory of the heavens against the true one of Copernicus. A similar remark is applicable to the leaders of Federalism at the time of which we are now speaking. The evidence, as it then stood, was often on their side, when the truth was not. Even in those respects in which their apprehensions or their policy have been overruled and set aside by experience, it has been by the experience which followed, and not by that which went before. Accordingly, it may be said, that, when the old Federalists were wrong and the old Democrats right, it was, in many cases at least, because the former looked to reason and precedent, while the latter trusted in their feelings and instincts. How, indeed, was it possible for men acting year after year in a hopeless and continually decreasing minority, every new measure of public importance seeming to them a downward step, their imaginations haunted, meanwhile, by the excesses and issues of the French Revolution, — how was it possible for such men, so circumstanced, not to lose more or less of their confidence in the stability of the existing Government, and in the popular will? Happily, however, Mr. Quincy lived to have his faith in both abundantly restored, and to see and acknowledge, even in those events which most perplexed him at the time, the hand of God.

The appointment of Mr. Quincy to the bench of the Municipal Court, in 1822, after he had been withdrawn from the practice of his profession for nearly twenty years, occasioned some surprise. But without much reason; for the jurisdiction of this court was exclusively criminal, and he was known never to have remitted his attention to the best means of dealing with the suffering and dangerous classes, or to the changes made or contemplated in the criminal law.

He retained this place but little more than a year; yet one of his decisions has permanently connected his name with

the history of Law Reform. It was in the action against Mr. Buckingham, editor of the "New-England Galaxy," for a libel on J. N. Maffitt, a noted preacher of that day, which came up for trial in the December Term of 1822. The prosecuting officer in this case had agreed to waive an advantage understood to be given him by the law as it then was, and to allow the defendant to prove the truth in evidence. But the Judge objected to this course, on the ground that, if the law of Massachusetts really and purposely excluded such testimony, the Court was not at liberty to permit its introduction merely on the plea of an agreement of parties. He then went into a full discussion of the legal point at issue, undertaking to deduce, from the Constitutional guaranty of a free press in this Commonwealth, that every one here has the right to publish the truth from good motives; and hence the admissibility of the truth in evidence in all cases of prosecution for libel,—not, indeed, as being a justification in all cases, but as bearing essentially on the question of motive or intent to be decided by the jury.

Objections were made at the time to both the substance and form of this ruling of the Judge; and it does not appear to have been generally accepted as law.* In the very same court, when Mr. Buckingham was arraigned before it again for libel, in 1824, he was not allowed to prove the truth of

* The decision was not only commented on in the newspapers, but called forth two considerable pamphlets. The first was "A Letter to the Hon. Josiah Quincy, Judge of the Municipal Court in the City of Boston, on the Law of Libel, as laid down by him in the Case of *Commonwealth v. Buckingham*. By a Member of the Suffolk Bar." It contests many of his positions, taking substantially the old "common-law" ground, that the sole object of public prosecutions for libel is to prevent breaches of the peace; and that, viewed in this light, the truth or falsehood of the statement is immaterial,—nay, that the truth of the statement often aggravates the evil. It was soon followed by "Reflections upon the Law of Libel, in a Letter addressed to a Member of the Suffolk Bar. By a Citizen;" in which the other side is argued with ability and discrimination, and the personalities in the "Letter" are successfully and indignantly repelled. Both of the pamphlets were published anonymously, the author of the "Letter" not being known or suspected at the time by the author of the "Reflections." Afterwards, it was understood that the former was Harrison Gray Otis, jun., and the latter, Edmund Kimball, then young lawyers in Boston.

the publication, though it was asked for expressly, not as a justification, but to rebut the charge of malice. Still we are not to suppose that Mr. Quincy's courageous defence of a free press was without effect. There is every reason to believe, that his forcible statement of what the law *ought to be*, together with the discussion to which it gave rise, had great weight in determining the Legislature of Massachusetts to pass an Act in 1827, granting, in express terms, to the defendant in prosecutions for libel, the very right which he had contended for on the ground of the common law controlled by the Constitution of the State. However this may be, it is certain that a law of libel, substantially the same with that laid down by Judge Quincy, has since been adopted in every State in the Union, either by statute, or by express provision of the Constitution. And the same is also true of England; in short, wherever the press is unshackled, that is to say, wherever men are allowed to publish *the truth*, with good motives and for justifiable ends, whether in respect to "public characters" or private citizens.

After serving his native city for fifteen months on the bench, Mr. Quincy accepted the more difficult and responsible office of its chief magistrate, which he held nearly six years. Boston owes much to the circumstance, that its most distinguished citizens, men born and brought up there, and for this reason feeling a natural and just pride in its institutions and good name, have always been willing to take an active part in municipal affairs. The Revolutionary renown associated with the old town organization and the old name, together with a strong democratic fondness for transacting public business in popular assemblies, induced the inhabitants to reject several attempts to introduce a city government from as far back as 1784. At length, however, in 1821, the population had grown to be so large as to make the old system manifestly inadequate; and a city charter was therefore obtained and finally adopted, though not without strenuous resistance in

which Mr. Quincy participated to some extent.* Still, notwithstanding this opposition, when the canvass was opened for the first Mayor, he was put forward as a prominent candidate, and actually received the largest number of votes at the first trial. But no choice being made, and serious political misunderstandings having arisen, he immediately withdrew his name, as did also the other candidates;† and at the next trial Mr. John Phillips was elected by a union of all parties. Mr. Phillips retired at the end of the year, and was succeeded by Mr. Quincy, who was inducted into office with the usual forms, May 1, 1823.

In the short administration of his predecessor, little had been attempted, except to organize the new form of government, and put it in working order. All the great reforms so confidently anticipated from the change were still to be effected; a work which could not have fallen into more faithful and resolute hands.

One of Mr. Quincy's first objects was to carry into full effect a scheme commenced two years before, by a committee appointed by the town, of which he was chairman. Even at

* Mr. Quincy is said, in the Memoir by his son, to have "strongly opposed this change, thinking that the old system of town government was the best adapted to the habits and wants of the citizens, and the least liable to abuses." Also, when he was first nominated for Mayor, it was objected, that he had been "the most zealous and active opponent of the city charter." That he was opposed to some parts of the new scheme and of the proposed charter, there can be no doubt; but that he wished to retain "the old system," is hardly consistent with what he says in his "Municipal History of Boston." He there tells us (p. 28), that "the impracticability of conducting the municipal interests of the place under the form of Town Government" had become "apparent to the inhabitants." With seven thousand qualified voters convened in town-meeting, it was, as he goes on to show, "evidently impossible calmly to deliberate and act;" and, in consequence, "a few busy or interested individuals easily obtained the management of the most important affairs."

† The other candidates were the Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, and the Hon. Thomas L. Winthrop. The following is Mr. Quincy's account of this political *imbroglio*: "When I promised a body of my fellow-citizens to stand, Otis was not in the field; he was a member of the United-States Senate, and his intention to run for the mayoralty was unknown to me. When informed he was a candidate, I solicited the Committee to whom my promise had been made to release me from it, as I had no wish to run against Mr. Otis; but they refused."

that time, the abuses connected with the almshouse in Leverett Street had aroused public attention to the necessity of some change in the care of the poor, and of making some distinction between the virtuous and the vicious poor. In pursuance of this end, the committee just mentioned had already purchased above sixty acres of land in South Boston, and erected upon it a House of Industry; in order that the able-bodied among its inmates might find, in cultivating the ground, what was believed to be the most healthful, and at the same time the most profitable, employment. But the whole plan was in danger of being frustrated by a multitude of obstacles, growing partly out of lingering prejudices against the workhouse system, and partly out of the jealousy of officials and the disputed jurisdiction of rival Boards, which it required all Mr. Quincy's courage and determination to overcome. Even with his utmost exertions, it was not until April, 1825, that the last occupants of the almshouse were transferred to South Boston. Meanwhile, a House of Correction had been built there under the same auspices; and this was soon followed by the House of Reformation for Juvenile Offenders. There can be no doubt, that a large and growing city would have found it necessary sooner or later to make these or similar provisions. Still, it is to the credit of Mr. Quincy that he hastened the measure, and by hastening it was able to secure an eligible location for the experiment in the neighborhood, before the opportunity was for ever lost.*

His attention was next called to the sanitary and police regulations, which, from the remissness or timidity of the authorities, had not kept pace with the growth of the city. No part of the present arrangement for securing cleanliness, comfort, and health, which is the just pride of the citizens,

* For the sixty-three acres, which constituted at first the City Farm in South Boston, only one hundred dollars an acre were given, though, before the signing of the deed, five hundred dollars were offered the original proprietor. Land in that vicinity soon afterwards rose to one thousand dollars an acre.

was then in operation. For introducing it, they are mainly indebted to Mr. Quincy; and some notion of the extent of the reform may be gathered from the fact, that, under the new system, more than three thousand tons of dirt and decaying substances of every kind, accumulated on the wharves and in the narrow streets and alleys, were removed in a single month. "For the first time, on any general scale destined for universal application, the *broom* was used upon the streets. On seeing this novel spectacle of files of sweepers, an old and common adage was often applied to the new administration of city affairs; in good humor by some, in a sarcastic spirit by others." *

Nor were his measures less prompt and decisive for suppressing social and moral nuisances; one instance of which will suffice to illustrate the character of the new *régime*. By a strange anomaly, in one of the most orderly and decorous cities in the world, another Alsatia, on a small scale, had been suffered to grow up in a part of what was then called West Boston, where the law, and the officers appointed to enforce it, were openly set at defiance.

"Twelve or fourteen houses of infamous character were openly kept, without concealment and without shame. The chief officer of the former police said to the Mayor, soon after his inauguration, 'There are dances there almost every night. The whole street is in a blaze of light from their windows. To put them down without a military force seems impossible: a man's life would not be safe who should attempt it. The company consists of highbinders, jail-birds, known thieves and miscreants, with women of the worst description. Murders, it is well known, have been committed there, and more have been

* Quincy's "Municipal History of Boston," p. 68. The bills of mortality afford a striking proof of the wisdom and effectiveness of these sanitary measures. For the ten years which preceded Mr. Quincy's accession to the mayoralty, in 1828, the annual average proportion of deaths to the population in Boston was about one to forty-two; during the next four years, it was less than one to fifty; and in the last three years of his administration, ending with 1828, it was but one to fifty-seven. — *Ibid.*, p. 267. It is understood, that the usual average of mortality in cities of equal population was at that time about one to forty-seven.

suspected.' He was asked, 'if vice and villany were too strong for the police.' He replied, 'I think so; at least, it has long been so in that quarter.' He was answered, 'There shall be at least a struggle for the supremacy of the laws.' " *

In such a struggle, resolutely undertaken by Mr. Quincy, there could be no doubt about the issue. The whole district was put under ban; all licenses were revoked; a vigorous police was organized; and, before the expiration of Mr. Quincy's first official term, that section of the city was as quiet and safe as any other.†

But the most enduring monument of his services as Mayor is the Market-house which bears his name. At first, nothing more was contemplated than to extend the accommodations already afforded in the basement of Faneuil Hall. Even this, however, when brought up for consideration before a meeting of the citizens, was scouted by many as a wasteful extravagance, as "the mammoth project of the Mayor." But the scheme gradually expanded, until it embraced the opening of six new streets, and the erection of one of the finest and best appointed market-houses in the world. From beginning to end, Mr. Quincy was the soul of the enterprise; never discouraged, indefatigable, freely incurring personal responsibility when it was necessary to further the object. It was, therefore, with no ordinary satisfaction that he was able to

* Ibid., p. 102.

† Mr. Quincy had been led thoroughly to investigate the great questions connected with pauperism and crime, and indeed with the whole subject of social evils and abuses, before being called upon to carry his principles into effect. This appears from the "Address of the Board of Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital," written by him in 1814; his "Report to the Legislature on the Pauper Laws of Massachusetts," in 1821; his "Reports on the subject of Pauperism and a House of Industry in the Town of Boston," in the same year; and his "Remarks on some of the Provisions of the Laws of Massachusetts affecting Poverty, Vice, and Crime," in 1822. These, for the time, are full and instructive papers. In fact, when we remember how much Mr. Quincy wrote and did at that early day for the public health and comfort, and to prevent or repress mendicity and crime, especially among the young, and what opposition he met with and overcame, it seems to us that he is better entitled than any other person to be called the Father of Social Science in this country,—a science now in such vogue.

say, in his final Report on the subject, Nov. 13th, 1826, that the noble improvement was completed; and this, too, without any addition to the taxes or pecuniary burdens of the city, present or to come.

If this were the place for a full account of Mr. Quincy's mayoralty, it would be proper to speak of other things: especially of his efforts to extend the advantages of the public schools; of his reconstruction of the fire department, then for the first time made an independent and responsible body; of his care to recover for the city an exclusive title to the "Ropewalk Lands," west of Charles Street, now the Public Garden; of the measures taken by him to defend the islands in the harbor against the inroads of the sea; and of the first movements towards supplying the city with water.* It is not meant that every thing done under Mr. Quincy's administration was done by him: on the contrary, he is eager, on several occasions, to acknowledge important aid from other members of the city government. Still he was the chief administrative and executive officer, and not a man to be so in name without being so in reality. Accordingly, it is impossible to review his course as Mayor without being convinced, that, owing partly to the time and circumstances in which he entered on the office, and partly to his personal qualities, the city, in its municipal capacity, is under more and greater obligations to him, than to any other individual.

Nevertheless, he was aware from the outset, that a faithful and uncompromising discharge of the duties of the chief magistracy would give offence, not only to individuals, but to whole classes. In his first Inaugural Address, he intimated that an amount of discontent would thus be gradually accumulated, which must sooner or later exclude him from office. And so it proved. Twice he was re-elected, almost

* The first surveys and estimates for supplying Boston with water by aqueduct were made by Professor Treadwell, at the request of Mr. Quincy, in 1826.

unanimously; but, after that, an organized and growing opposition began to manifest itself, which was at length successful. When a candidate for the sixth time, in December, 1828, he still had a decided plurality of the votes; but, after failing on two trials to obtain the requisite majority, he definitively withdrew. Mr. Quincy's own account of the whole affair, as given in his "Address on Taking Final Leave of the Office of Mayor," is characteristic.

"In all this there is nothing uncommon or unprecedented. The public officer who, from a sense of public duty, dares to cross strong interests in their way to gratification at the public expense, always has had; and ever will have, meted to him the same measure. The beaten course is, first to slander in order to intimidate; and, if that fail, then to slander in order to sacrifice. He who loves his office better than his duty, will yield and be flattered,—as long as he is a tool. He who loves his duty better than his office will stand erect,—and take his fate."

This is not the language of a demagogue, nor of a disappointed office-seeker; nor yet of an adroit politician: some, indeed, may think that a more conciliating manner might have saved his popularity, without involving any important sacrifice of principle. However this may be, it is certain that his most determined opponents never whispered against him the charge of official corruption, or of selfish or by ends; much less that of negligence or inaction. On the contrary, one of the principal complaints was, that he took too much on himself; that he placed himself at the head of all important Committees, and prepared all important Reports; that there was no place which was not "vexed by his presence." To give a single example: it was his custom to mount his horse at daybreak, and traverse the streets and lanes of the city, that he might see every thing with his own eyes. There were those, of course, to whom such incessant vigilance and activity were unwelcome; and they revenged themselves by calling it "officiousness" and "intermeddling." So

far was this feeling carried, that, on one occasion, he was actually arraigned before the Police Court for fast riding, when thus engaged in the public business,—to the danger, as it was said, of other passengers. Two witnesses testified to the fact. Mr. Quincy appeared, and pleaded “Not guilty,” being sure that no risk whatever had been incurred; at the same time, he was willing that judgment should be entered against him, and the fine and costs imposed, “to show that no individual could be placed above the law.”

The only other popular topic insisted on against him was the City Debt. Of course, it was impossible to carry through the large public improvements instituted by him without large public expenditure. Still he considered his defence complete, inasmuch as he could say, that the taxes had not increased in a ratio equal to the actual increase of property and population. Nay, more: he triumphantly asks, “Have I not a right to assert, according to the usual and justifiable forms of expression under circumstances of this kind, that, so far as respects the operations of the Administration now passing away, they have left the city incumbered with NO DEBT; because they have left it possessed of a newly-acquired real property, far greater, in marketable value, than the whole debt it has incurred?” For these reasons, in concluding his farewell Address, he did not hesitate to exclaim, in the noble language used by the Hebrew magistrate on a similar occasion, “Behold! here I am: witness against me. Whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? at whose hands have I received any bribe?”

Mr. Quincy was now fifty-seven years old. For most of the time since arriving at manhood, he had held, as we have seen, important civil trusts; but this did not hinder him from taking an active part in the principal literary and scientific associations of the day, and in all well-concerted measures for the improvement of society,—a circumstance to be noticed here, because it doubtless had quite as much to do in prepar-

ing the way, and suggesting his fitness, for his next appointment, as the public stations he had filled.

He was an early member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and of the Massachusetts Historical Society. For many years he was a Trustee of Phillips Academy in Andover, and of the Theological Institution engrafted on it, and an Overseer of Harvard University. His duties at Washington, as a Representative in Congress, prevented him from being a member of the Anthology Club: but he was a zealous and liberal promoter of the Boston Athenæum, which grew out of that Club; and on leaving Congress, in 1813, he was made one of its Trustees. He was re-elected to this place, without intermission, for the next fifteen years; and for the last nine of them, and until his removal to Cambridge, he was President of the Institution. He also belonged to the first Board of Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital, and wrote the Address to the Public, in 1814, which resulted in raising the necessary funds for that noble charity. In 1824, Harvard College conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

Nor should the military episode in Mr. Quincy's life be passed over in silence. It was in the disturbed times which preceded and attended our last war with England; when all thoughtful men felt the necessity there was to strengthen the hands of the government against invasion or insurrection from whatever quarter it might come. Under these circumstances, the Hussars, a troop of cavalry, splendidly mounted and equipped, was raised among the gentlemen of Boston and the vicinity in 1810, and Mr. Quincy was elected Captain. Afterwards he was promoted to the command of a squadron of horse, consisting of the Hussars and Dragoons, with the rank of Major. The Memoir, so often quoted, goes on to say, —

“His great personal advantages of face and figure, set off by his superb uniform, and by his fine charger ‘Bayard,’ white as snow, still dwell in the memory of the older inhabitants of Boston as the finest

sight of man and horse they ever saw. At the peace, this corps was disbanded, its expensiveness being extreme; and he closed his military life. His horse 'Bayard,' oddly enough, was afterwards exported to Hayti, and became the favorite charger of the black king Christophe."

The ancestral estate in Quincy, bequeathed to him by his grandfather, came into his possession in 1798, and was ever afterwards, except while he was President of Harvard College, his summer residence. Here his attention was naturally turned to scientific and experimental farming, which he entered into, especially after resigning his seat in Congress, with his accustomed enthusiasm; his failures and successes, as is usual in such cases, being almost equally instructive to his neighbors and the public. He also became a leading member of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society, and contributed several valuable papers to the journal published under its auspices. Thus his year was about equally divided between his house in Boston and his house in Quincy, both of which were centres of a large and generous hospitality to his friends and to distinguished strangers. As his family were with him in his first winters at Washington, he had no occasion for his house in Pearl Street, before mentioned, and it was therefore leased, and never returned to. Afterwards, his town residence was successively in Oliver Street on Fort Hill, in Summer Street, and in Hamilton Place,—the last during his Mayoralty, and until his removal to Cambridge.

Dr. Kirkland had resigned the presidency of Harvard College in April, 1828. The place was still vacant at the end of the year, when, by the result of the election for Mayor in Boston, Mr. Quincy, as we have seen, was relieved from all public cares; and the attention of the Corporation was immediately turned on him as Dr. Kirkland's successor. He was chosen President of the University, January 15th, 1829. Up to this time, his mind had been mainly intent on political and civil affairs: for the sixteen years which followed, including all that remained of his public life, he threw himself, with

characteristic singleness and earnestness of purpose, into his newly appointed work. It was a great change; and the feelings with which he contemplated it are best expressed in the following answer, under date of January 24th, to a very kind and cordial letter of welcome from the elder Dr. Ware:—

“I need not say to you, Sir, how little the contemplated station has been to me an object of ambition, or even of desire. Not that it does not in itself include sufficient to render it a just object of the highest ambition and purest desire; but because, until it was proposed to me, it had never come within the scope of any thought or project of my life.

“When it was presented to my option, it was contemplated solely in the light of duty; and when my reflections resulted in a determination to accept, in case the appointing and sanctioning Boards should concur, I am not conscious that self-interest threw any weight into the preponderating scale. On the contrary, I feel that I am about to make great sacrifices of personal comfort, and to engage in new duties at a great disadvantage, both from my period of life and my previous habits, — that the result is dubious, as it respects not only my happiness, but my reputation.

“From all that I knew of the state of the interior of the Seminary, as well as from what I was apprized was seriously contemplated in this city, I could not but realize that the affairs of it were at a crisis, which made it the duty of every well-wisher to it to apply his strength in whatever way those intrusted with its superintendence deemed useful. Under the circumstances in which, by a singular course of Providence, I found myself placed, I could not refrain from believing that so extraordinary and unexpected a proposition, made at such a moment, indicated an imperious and not to be questioned duty.

“Throwing aside, therefore, personal considerations, and every other but this leading sense of obligation, I resolved, that, if called by the conjunct authorities of the University, I would undertake a task which I do not even yet know how it will be in my power to execute.

“I beg you, Sir, to be assured, and request you to assure the other gentlemen of the Faculty, that, if events should call me to that station, I shall enter upon it, pursuing no theories, subject to no schemes, with no projects; that I come free of pledge to change or to continue any thing that is done or in existence at the Seminary; and with a cordial

desire to harmonize with, as I honor, every member of that Board. An absolute self-devotion to the interests of the Seminary is all that I promise."

The election of Mr. Quincy was confirmed by the Overseers, January 29th, and he was inaugurated with the customary formalities on Tuesday, the 2d of June.* Until the induction of President Kirkland, in 1810, all the inaugural exercises excepting the prayers, had been in Latin. With him began the practice of delivering the Inaugural Discourse in English; but neither his nor Mr. Quincy's was printed. The latter contained a forcible statement of the importance of adapting the methods and processes of education to the wants of the people and the spirit of the age; together with an earnest protest against an unreasonable urging of change, and the propensity in this country to multiply colleges, instead of building up and properly endowing a few.

At the inauguration, as well as in the letter just quoted and on other occasions, he speaks of his surprise on being called to preside over the University, and at the total change it would require in his habits of life, and this, too, at a somewhat advanced period of life. Nevertheless, it was a perfectly natural appointment. Mr. Quincy had always been a favorite and honored son of the University, and had stood up for her courageously, on more than one occasion, when her rights were threatened. He had also kept up his scholarly, and especially his classical, tastes and studies throughout all the vicissitudes of his public career, and, by his published

* The votes of the Overseers were forty for concurring, and twenty-six against it. The opposition was made up partly of those who objected to him on political or sectarian grounds, and partly of those who thought that the President of the College should be a clergyman, as had been the usage hitherto, with the single exception of Judge Leverett, and he was a Bachelor of Divinity, and had preached for a short period. The confirmation was strenuously resisted by writers in the "Boston Recorder" and the "Boston Statesman."

speeches, orations, addresses, and reports, and his contributions to the newspapers and magazines,* had won an acknowledged place among the literary men of the country. Nor should we forget in this connection the "Memoir" of his father, which he had given to the world in 1825, and of which Mr. Webster said, "It is one of the most interesting books I ever read, and brings me nearer than any other to the spirit which caused the American Revolution." Above all, he had a distinguished name and large connections and influence, and was known to be a man of experience and skill in affairs, of untiring assiduity, and of great vigor in government, — qualities in which the College was then supposed to be especially in want. A writer in the "Boston Statesman," though opposed to the appointment on sectarian grounds, felt obliged to say, "For Mr. Quincy I have a very high regard; and I think him possessed, in a high degree, of some of the qualifications for the chief executive office in the University. I utterly disclaim any design, in the remarks I am about to make, of calling in question his personal or literary qualifica-

* Newspaper "editorials," as they are now termed, were almost unknown in Mr. Quincy's early days, their place being supplied by articles, or series of articles, contributed anonymously, or under some popular pseudonym, by the leading and active minds of the day. Mr. Quincy did his full share of this work; but it is no longer easy to identify his contributions. The "Port Folio," in Philadelphia, was edited by his classmate, Joseph Dennie; and on this account, as well as from sympathy with its high political tone, he is supposed to have been a not unfrequent contributor to it. A long series of papers, headed "Climenole," and running through almost the whole of the fourth volume, for 1804, is ascribed to his pen. It is an ironical satire on the Democratic party, which probably had an interest and significance at the time, now lost. He also wrote occasionally for the "Monthly Anthology." He is the author of an extended and elaborate Review of Fisher Ames's Works, begun in the number for November, 1809, and continued through several successive numbers. Of course the article is highly laudatory: it could not be otherwise, in speaking of one of the greatest and best men this country has produced. But it is also discriminating, and shows a consciousness of the weak side of many of the Federal attacks on the dominant party. "He was," says the reviewer, "a partizan warrior, perpetually dashing into the very centre of the hostile camp, disturbing the sleep of the commander, and depriving his guards of repose; but the result of his efforts was rather brilliant than decisive. He brought away more marks of honor than trophies of victory; and obtained more evidences than rewards of prowess. His virtues and skill were the delight and admiration of his friends; but it does not appear that he made any durable impression on his enemies."

tions, or of making even an insinuation unfavorable to his character."

In one respect, however, he certainly was unprepared for his new duties, being without any experience whatever, either in the details of teaching or in the order and government of a large literary institution. As a practical man, he knew how serious this deficiency was; but he also knew in what way it could be supplied. For the first six months of his presidency, he gave himself entirely to the study of the processes of instruction and discipline, as they went on under his eyes; acting, meanwhile, under the constant advisement of Professor Ware, for whose judgment in these matters he always entertained the highest respect. It was not until after this, so far as the internal arrangements of the College were concerned, that he began to have an opinion of his own, and to cause his influence to be felt. It may also be mentioned, as illustrating his nice sense of justice, that, while Professor Ware was thus helping him to govern the College, he insisted on his receiving a portion of the President's salary.

With these qualifications, and in this spirit, he began his long administration,—only four of the twenty have been longer,—an administration which will ever hold an honorable place in the annals of the College, whether regard be had to its internal or external relations.

In what he did for its internal discipline, there was nothing which he looked back upon with more satisfaction than his success in introducing the practice of appealing to the laws of the land in cases of grave offence committed by members of the University. The measure had been resorted to before in rare and exceptional instances, but Mr. Quincy made it to be a part of the recognized policy of the College, and caused it to be inserted as such in the College Code. It was not so much for the purpose of bringing the students under new penalties, as of obtaining the means, through the grand jury,

of compelling testimony under oath, and so of bringing to light the real culprits. Examinations before the Faculty were often worse than useless. What was called "College morality" justified all kinds of prevarication and subterfuge to screen the guilty; or, if the witness shrank from such a course, what was called "College honor," constrained him to refuse to testify, thus taking the punishment on himself. In a long address to the students, in October, 1829, announcing and recommending the new policy, he thus accounts for the origin of these abuses:—

"The reason is, that youth are here denied the common principles of examination and trial, by which alone truth can be maintained and error detected. The Board charged with these investigations are entrusted with none of those powers by which alone society defends its safety and property. Had the tribunals of justice no other means of enforcing the discovery of truth than those possessed by the Faculty of a college, society could not exist a day."

A few years afterwards, in the serious College disturbances of 1834, the courts of law were again resorted to, and indictments were found against three students. The proceeding occasioned some uneasiness, as well within as without academic circles, and was finally brought up for consideration before the Overseers; which led Mr. Quincy to undertake before that Board a still more elaborate defence of the policy in question. In the course of the argument he observes,—

"Farther reflection, however, led to the conclusion that the so-called 'College morality' itself, complained of above, was not so much the effect of any peculiar perversity in the youthful mind, arising from influences existing within the sphere of a college, as the natural and even necessary consequence of a pretended immunity from the laws of the State. When once the certainty of being examined under oath and confronted with each other, as in courts of justice, is established, the power of obtaining impunity by falsehood is taken away, and with this the temptation to commit it. Of all principles of moral corruption, in youth or manhood, that is the surest and most effectual which places the individual above or beyond the sanctions of the law." . . .

"The notion that this exemption from the laws of the land is a privilege to students, is of all opinions the most false and fallacious. A privilege! To whom? Not to the orderly and well-disposed. To these it is an oppressive and insupportable evil. By the effect of such exemption they are deprived of the character of compelled witnesses, and obliged to take that of voluntary informers, if they speak the truth."

The whole subject was then referred by the Overseers to a Committee, John Quincy Adams being the chairman, who, in an able and extended report, approved of every thing which the President and Faculty had done; and the resolutions embodying the sense of the report were "unanimously" adopted by the Board.* The good effects of the new determination were not, perhaps, so immediate or so considerable as expected: up to this hour, indeed, it has been but imperfectly carried out; but there can be no doubt that it was the beginning of a more efficient administration of college discipline. It is probably one of the causes which, for a quarter of a century, have prevented the recurrence of an open and general "rebellion" against the College authorities, — formerly so frequent, almost periodic. It is also thought to have done much to save the College from those violent collisions between officers and students, sometimes ending in homicide, by which similar institutions in this country have been troubled. In every instance of mere college mischief,

* Alluding in the Report to certain strictures which the Senior Class had seen fit, in their published account of the disturbances, to pass on the Head of the College, Mr. Adams says, "For nearly five and forty years, since President Quincy took, as a member of the then Senior Class of Harvard University, at the close of his career as a student, the highest honors of the Seminary, his life, his deportment, his manners, may emphatically be said to have been exhibited in the presence of all his brethren. The life of no man of his cotemporaries has been more constantly under the eye of the public. It is not for this Committee to pronounce his panegyric: to many members of this Board he was long familiarly and intimately known, before any one member of the present Senior Class of Harvard University was born. He was known to their fathers, — known to many of their grandsires, in multiplied relations of life, public and private. It was reserved for the circular of the Senior Class of Harvard University to convey, in doubting and dubious terms, an imputation upon his sincerity and integrity."

the prosecution has led to confession; whereupon the prosecution has been withdrawn, the College falling back on college punishments as soon as the real culprits were known.

There was another subject intimately connected with the peace of the College and its proper relations to the community, by which Mr. Quincy's mind was much exercised. It will be remembered that the people were beginning, at this time, to be divided and intensely exasperated on a multitude of new questions and new projects. In the ordinary relations of life, he was not a man, as we have seen, to counsel or practise timid reserves or a non-committal policy. But he felt that a retreat for study should be kept as far removed as possible from the noisy and distracting strifes of the hour. Moreover, he was eminently a just man. He knew that he had no right to use the influence, or complicate the interests and prospects of a great public institution placed under his care, as he might his own. He knew that Harvard College belonged to no party, or sect, or clique; and he therefore strove, both by example and authority, to keep it free from all such entanglements on the one side or the other.

Thus, in 1838, having been informed that a discussion was announced for the evening, in some society belonging to the Divinity School, "on the subject of 'Abolition,' as it is called," and that very general invitations had been given to the undergraduates, and to the members of the respective schools, to attend on the occasion, he hastened to apprise the Theological Faculty of the fact, and to express his regret and concern on account of it. In the course of this communication he observes: "Whatever may be your or my private opinion on the main question, I think there can be but one in the minds of prudent men, that, in the state of excessive excitability of the public mind on this topic abroad, it is desirable not to introduce it obtrusively into a seminary of learning, composed of young men from every quarter of the country; among whom are many whose prejudices, passions, and inter-

ests are deeply implicated and affected by these discussions, and who feel very naturally and strongly on the subject." Again, in 1840, he writes to a tutor, reminding him of the circumstances which attended his appointment: "I then distinctly stated to you, that there was no sense of official duty more imperative in my mind than that of keeping Harvard College out of *every party vortex*, and that I held it an incumbent duty of every officer of the Institution to abstain from any act tending to bring within its walls discussions upon questions on which the passions and interests of the community are divided, and warmly engaged, without doors."

For several years, many of the friends of the College had been urging important reforms in its course and methods of instruction, rendered necessary, as it was said, by the wants of the community and the advanced state of science. Little, however, had as yet been done towards maturing these schemes, and carrying them into effect; and one of the hopes entertained on the appointment of Mr. Quincy was, that they would soon begin to feel the effects of that indomitable spirit of activity and progress which he had just been evincing as Mayor. And this hope was not disappointed. In June, 1830, he submitted to the Board of Overseers "A General Plan of Studies," designed "chiefly to effect a more thorough education in the Greek and Latin languages, the Mathematics, and Rhetoric." According to the new program, the hours given to the first three studies above mentioned are nearly doubled, without lessening the amount of instruction in the other departments. Here, certainly, was early evidence of activity and progress; but not, it must be confessed, in the popular direction. Most of the reformers believed that abundant time was given already to mathematical and classical studies: what they wanted was, that more room should be made, at least for such as desired it, for the moral and physical sciences and the modern languages. They demanded, in short, that a much larger privilege of selection among dif-

ferent studies should be allowed; that classes should be divided into sections, according to talent and proficiency; that examinations should be rendered more thorough and effective; that rank should be determined by a carefully and elaborately prepared scale of merit; and that the College should be open to students wishing to avail themselves of its means of instruction in particular departments, without being candidates for a degree.*

Mr. Quincy is understood to have had his doubts, from the beginning, as to the wisdom or practicability of some of these propositions. Nevertheless, as they had been repeatedly recommended and insisted on, and sometimes by the authorities of the College, he was sincerely desirous, acting in concert with the Faculty, to put them to the test of experience. And it was remarkable in Mr. Quincy, that, whenever he felt called upon to execute a plan, he threw his whole soul into it, forgetting all objections and misgivings he may himself have once entertained, and acting as if the entire scheme, from its inception, was his own. This appears in the course he took in 1832, respecting what was then called, "The Minimum Scheme." It consisted in establishing a *minimum* in every important branch, which was required of all as the condition of a degree. But "any number of students in any class, not less than six, wishing to attain this minimum in an early part of the College course, might form a section for that purpose." Having effected this object, they were free to elect what studies they would afterwards

* See on this subject a Report of a Committee of the Overseers in 1824, of which Judge Story and Mr. John Pickering were active members; "Remarks on a Report of a Committee of the Overseers of Harvard College, proposing certain Changes in the Instruction and Discipline of the College. By One, lately a Member of the Immediate Government" [Professor Norton], 1824; "Remarks on Changes lately proposed or adopted in Harvard University. By George Ticknor, Smith Professor, &c.," 1825; "Speech of John Pickering, Esq., before the Board of Overseers," published in the "American Statesman," for Feb. 1, 1825; and an article on "Reform of Harvard College," in the "United-States Literary Gazette," begun June 15, and continued through successive issues to Dec. 1, 1825, by Dr. Gamaliel Bradford.

pursue, and "be formed into sections in reference to those studies, *without regard to classes*." Again, in the following year, he was equally in earnest for another plan, which consisted in confining the required study of Greek, Latin, and Mathematics to the Freshman and Sophomore Classes, so that students who were unprepared in those studies might enter the Junior Class, and take a two-years' college course in Intellectual, Moral, and Political Philosophy, in the Physical Sciences, and in the Modern Languages. The latter would not be entitled to a degree; but, in lieu thereof, they were to receive a diploma specifying what they had done.

Both of these projects fell through, because they were found to require a larger staff of instruction than the College had at its disposal. But in other respects he was more successful; especially in the measures agreed upon to secure a perfectly reliable scale of merit, an improved method of public examinations, and a large extension of the elective system. For a time, indeed, the elective system was carried so far as to allow any student to discontinue the study of Greek, Latin, and Mathematics, one or all, *at the end of the Freshman year*, choosing a substitute out of several studies proposed, among which were the Modern Languages. Many were alarmed at this bold innovation, thinking it little better than an abandonment of the classics altogether; so much so, that Mr. Quincy felt called upon to come forward in its defence, in "Remarks on the Nature and Probable Effects of introducing the Voluntary System," addressed to the Board of Overseers, in 1841. He argues thus:—

"Now, what possible objection can there be to permitting parents or guardians, who know the character, aptitudes, and destination of their sons or wards, to decide the question for them? Is it possible, in the nature of things, that what is best in every individual case can be better decided by the principles of a general system than by the intelligence of the natural guardians of a young man, acting upon a knowledge of his peculiar powers, temperament, and objects in life?

If a parent chooses that his son shall not spend more than one college year in imbuing his mind with a knowledge of Greek and Latin, what concern has the College or the friends of classical literature in the matter, provided he do not obstruct others in attaining it? How much less concern, then, have they, — rather, how much reason to encourage and rejoice in this voluntary secession from these studies, when the direct effect must be to aid, and take obstructions from the path of, those who engage ardently in the pursuit of these languages! . . .

“A college which should send forth only two-thirds, or even one-half, of its graduates, thoroughly educated by a known and seen standard, by which they were faithfully tried and rejected if found wanting, and if approved receive the appropriate honor, will do more *for the cause of classical learning*, than twenty colleges who send forth all their members tried by no standard, without any evidence of attainment, except having passed through a prescribed process, and where what they have done is matter of faith and not of sight.”

If it should still be objected that he did not do as much as was expected for academic reform, the answer is found in the fact that he did more than the College has been able to retain. At the present moment, though a re-action is understood to be now going on in favor of the elective or proper University system, that principle is not carried out and applied to any thing like the same extent as under President Quincy's administration. Moreover, we must not shut our eyes to another fact, — namely, that there was, and is, a serious difficulty in the way, though one, we are glad to say, that is continually lessening.* A large proportion of our Fresh-

* In the four consecutive years, beginning with 1806, the average age of students entering Harvard College, was sixteen years and four months; in the four consecutive years beginning with 1820, it was sixteen years and eleven months; in the four consecutive years beginning with 1860, it was seventeen years and eight months. But there is another view to be taken of the comparative age of the students, which makes the change more noteworthy. In the first two of the above-mentioned groups of classes, many entered under fifteen, and nearly half under sixteen; while in the last, out of four hundred and seventy-seven admitted, there was but one under fifteen, and only eighteen under sixteen. This change has been brought about, for the most part, by the higher character and greater strictness of the examination for admission; but, if more is now exacted, it is almost exclusively in one branch, the ancient languages, and is not understood to involve any essential change of general policy. A vast amount of rudimental

man and Sophomore Classes, whether regard be had to their age or studies, ought rather to be at some public school or gymnasium. The instruction required, or most of it at least, might be given there to better advantage, at less expense, and with far less moral exposure. As things now are, it may certainly be said, with no little show of reason, of these classes at least, that they have not as yet completed the general and preliminary studies which are necessary to a liberal education; and therefore that, for them, the time has not come to talk about dropping one study, and taking up another. And besides, even if they were to do so, who supposes that the mere right of selection among a crowd of *elementary* studies will make a university? Undoubtedly these elementary studies must first be attended to and mastered; but a university is not the place for it. Whenever Harvard College is ready to take the stand of leaving all rudimentary and drill teaching to the preparatory seminaries, and open its doors wide to persons of maturity, and to them alone,—that is to say, to persons who must be presumed to know what high special teaching they are fitted for and require,—the Voluntary or Elective System, without restriction or limita-

instruction is still expected and provided for in the College: it is, however, an important gain, that more than a year has been added to the average age of the students.

Some are disposed to counsel contentment with things as they are, on the ground, that, as our colleges have grown up amidst our wants, they must be suited to them. But this is a fallacy. Though our colleges have grown up amidst our wants, they have never been what the country really required, but only what it was in a condition to do for the time being,—a compromise between our wants and our means. Again, there are those who are willing that the College should sink into a mere preparatory department for the Professional and Scientific Schools, the latter to be regarded as the University proper. But the sons of Harvard will be slow to acquiesce in this view. It is hardly necessary to add, that the advocates of change have no wish to slight or crowd out the classics and the pure mathematics: on the contrary, they would provide the means of a much higher instruction in both, as well as in every other branch of liberal culture, for such as wish it, and will give the time to it. As for what is said about the disciplinary effect of different studies, it applies almost exclusively to boys. After the mind has attained a certain degree of maturity and independence, we suspect that the amount of intellectual discipline any study affords will depend in no small measure on the interest taken in it, or the preference from some cause felt for it; in short, on the student's "working with a will."

tion, will follow as a matter of course, and the College will become a proper university;—then, and except in a very imperfect degree, not until then.

We have dwelt on Mr. Quincy's efforts to improve the discipline and instruction of the College proper, because this was a care that was always on his mind; but it did not tempt him to overlook or neglect any other branch or interest of the University. Witness the new impulse which was almost immediately given to the Law School. Provision had been made, it is true, several years before, for giving legal instruction in the University; and this had been done with ability and success, but on a comparatively limited scale. The Law School, as at present constituted, may be said to date from the inauguration of Judge Story and Mr. Ashmun as professors, which took place Aug. 25, 1829,—a few months after President Quincy entered upon office. He had much to do with the change; and it was also owing, in no small measure, to his activity and perseverance, that funds were found for the erection of Dane Hall, in 1832. Writing, about this time, to the Hon. Nathan Dane, of Beverly, who had founded a new professorship, and after whom the new Hall was named, he says, "The School is flourishing beyond all expectation. It already consists of thirty-five members. Five or six more are known to contemplate joining it, and others are anticipated. We think ourselves justified in calculating with certainty on forty members, and I have reason to think it will exceed that number." Before Mr. Quincy resigned his office, the number had grown to be one hundred and sixty-three, collected from almost every State in the Union.

His attention was soon drawn to another important object. The College Library, which had become considerable, and the loss of which would have been in some respects irretrievable, was still in the upper story of Harvard Hall, where it was neither conveniently nor safely provided for. He saw that a new building had become necessary; and his first step

was to importune the Legislature for aid in erecting it;—urging, among other things, that the first library of the College had been burnt, in 1764, together with the Hall in which it was deposited, while the latter was in temporary occupation by the General Court; and further, that the benefits of the Library, when increased as it was likely to be, would not accrue to the College alone, but to all scholars, and the public generally. Meeting, however, with no response from that quarter, he reluctantly consented, and induced a majority of the Corporation to consent, that a great part of Mr. Gore's large bequest, which was shackled by no conditions, should be devoted to this purpose. To him, therefore, under these circumstances, the College is indebted for Gore Hall, which was built in the years 1839–42.

Another subject on which Mr. Quincy's thoughts were much occupied during the last years of his presidency, and indeed to the end of his life, was the Astronomical Observatory. A movement had been made by the Corporation as early as 1815, probably the earliest in the country, for the establishment of such an institution; and another, in 1822; but neither was followed up by the energy necessary to success. Mr. Quincy, in a letter to John Quincy Adams, who had been among the most active in recommending the former attempts, gives the following account of the first steps taken by himself:—

“Early in the year 1839, the President of the University being informed that Mr. William Cranch Bond was engaged, under contract with the government of the United States, in a series of astronomical, meteorological, and magnetic observations at Dorchester, with reference to the Exploring Expedition of the United States then in the Southern Ocean, it occurred to him, that if Mr. Bond could be induced to transfer his residence and apparatus to Cambridge, and pursue his observations there under the auspices of the University, it would have an important influence in clearing the way for an establishment of an efficient Observatory in connection with that seminary,

by the increase of the apparatus at its command, by the interest which the observations making by Mr. Bond were calculated to excite; and, by drawing the attention of the citizens of Boston and its vicinity to the great inadequacy of the means possessed by the University for efficient astronomical observations, create a desire and a disposition to supply them."

Every thing succeeded according to his wishes and expectations. Mr. Bond removed to Cambridge, where a temporary observatory had been fitted up for him in connection with the Dana House, situated within the college grounds. The necessary funds were immediately raised for purchasing additional instruments; and a much larger sum soon afterwards, for erecting and equipping the present noble Observatory, which, under the direction of the two Bonds, father and son, has already reflected so much credit on the College and on American science. Ground was broken for laying the foundation of the central pier, Aug. 15, 1843. To defray the current expenses of the establishment, the College received, in 1848, a bequest of a hundred thousand dollars from Mr. Edward Bromfield Phillips, a kinsman and former ward of Mr. Quincy; and ten thousand dollars were also given by himself to the same object.*

Time would fail, were we to undertake a full enumeration of the benefits accruing to Harvard College under President Quincy's administration. He found the whole number of students on his accession to office to be, including all departments of the University, four hundred and one; when he left, it was six hundred and twenty-one. He found a corps of

* Mr. Quincy's donation was in fulfilment of his father's bequest of £2,000 sterling to the College, in case his son should die a minor. He used to say that the College should not be a loser for his unreasonableness in outliving the prescribed term. The donation makes part of the Publishing Fund of the Observatory; and he directed that the following insertion should be made in the titlepage of every volume, the expense of which is defrayed from this source: "Printed from Funds resulting from the Will of Josiah Quincy, Jun., who died in April, 1775, leaving a Name inseparably connected with the History of the American Revolution." The whole transaction was very characteristic of the donor.

twenty-one professors and teachers; he left a corps of twenty-nine. He found the College yard a narrow and irregular strip of land, less than two-thirds of what it is at present: he left it not only greatly enlarged, but bounded on all sides by public streets. He found the financial concerns of the College in considerable embarrassment: he left them in perfect order. He found the productive funds of the University amounting to \$450,903.90: he left them amounting to \$706,615.24. Here too, without question, much was due to the ability and faithfulness of his colleagues in the government; still, as was said before, Mr. Quincy was not a man to be nominally the efficient and controlling head of an institution without being really so.

In the discharge of the current duties of his office as President of the University, he was as prompt, as unwearied, and as punctilious, as he had been in every previous public trust. An opinion had long prevailed, which was expressed and dwelt upon in the Report to the Overseers in 1824, that the President should be relieved "from the performance of merely ministerial duties," such as granting leave of absence, and attending to ordinary matters of discipline. But Mr. Quincy was the last man in the world to ask for or accept an exemption from work or care or responsibility, under whatever shape it might come. Even the details, the routine of the office, irksome as they have been thought, had a sort of fascination for his intensely active nature; and he would listen to no suggestions of curtailment or assistance. He was always in his place. For sixteen years he was never absent from the College chapel at morning prayers but once, and then on account of necessary absence from town on College business. Probably it was this entering into, and identifying himself with, every measure and movement of the University that rendered him so sensitive to attacks upon it. If more of these attacks had been left unnoticed, it might, perhaps, have been as well; especially when, as was sometimes the case,

they originated in political or religious jealousies, which it was impossible either to silence or allay. All that many of the assailants hoped for was to raise a question and call forth an answer, knowing how injurious it is to an individual or an institution to be frequently coming before the public as defendant, no matter how able and successful each particular defence may be.

But there was one instance in which his opposition to encroachments on the settled policy of the College deserves particular mention, as it gave him an opportunity to express his profound sense of the obligations the College has been under to the Congregational clergy from its earliest days, and also to show that he was not one of those who are carried away by every new cry of "liberality." Until 1834, clergymen, to be eligible to the Board of Overseers, must be Congregationalists; but an Act was passed by the Legislature of that year, opening the Board to clergymen of all denominations, — the Act to take effect whenever accepted by both branches of the College government. That little or no general interest was taken in the proposition is evident from the fact, that it was allowed to slumber in the statute-book for nearly nine years, without inquiry or complaint from any quarter. At length a vote of the Overseers called the attention of the President and Fellows to the existence of this law, with a request that they would take the initiative on the question of its acceptance. Under these circumstances, Mr. Quincy brought up the subject for consideration, declaring, at the same time, his own opinion in a written and elaborate argument against the measure; in which, as usual, he is not a whit the less decided and confident, though perfectly aware the effort would be of no avail, and that he was likely to stand, as in fact he did, almost alone. As this document has never been printed, an extract or two, illustrative of his views of the external relations of the University, will not be improper.

"The whole history of Massachusetts," as he tells us, "bears witness to the instrumentality of the Congregational clergy in founding and upholding Harvard College. With them originated the first conception of the design. By their influence, which was scarcely less than conclusive with the first settlers of the Colony, its statesmen were induced to extend to it the degree of favor which they did. For one hundred and fifty years they were intrusted with its chief care and management. When it became necessary, in the Convention of 1780, to declare who should be the successors of the Board of Overseers established under the ancient charters of the College, the framers of the Constitution ordained, in conformity with those charters, that the ministers of the Congregational churches therein specified should still constitute the clerical part of that Board. Nor did the act of 1810 make any alteration in this respect, but continued the Congregational order in its long-established clerical relations and rights,—enlarging rather than restricting them. . . .

"Thus the right in question is granted to the Congregational order by all the charters of the institution. It is a right which the present members of that order and their predecessors have attained, not through any party spirit or favoritism, but from the fact that they were originally the efficient founders of the College, and have, in all times, by their zeal, labors, and influence, been greatly instrumental in promoting its growth and prosperity. Now, where do the Overseers and the Corporation obtain the power to deprive the great Congregational Order of Massachusetts of this right, so honorably won and maintained? . . .

"But, it has been said, this change will not materially affect the influence of the Congregational clergy; that it will still depend upon the votes of the Board of Overseers, whether any other and what denominations shall be admitted, and that they will of course restrict the selection to such as will harmonize with them. All this is very smooth and lubricating. But powers which are sought are generally intended to be used. Accretion and extension are inherent in the very nature of power. If 'liberality' requires that all denominations should be made eligible to the Board of Overseers, it also requires, just as much, that every denomination should be represented in it. And it cannot be doubted, that, on every occurrence of a clerical vacancy in the Board, the friends of every sect will put in its claim; and, if denied, there will result a great clamor about 'illiberality.' So that they who are for accepting this act will find to their cost, that, instead of attain-

ing their end, they have perpetuated the very evil they would avoid upon themselves, and entailed it on their successors."

Experience did not verify these apprehensions: the College continued to flourish under the new order of things. Still, in these days of hankering after change and a more æsthetic worship, it is a satisfaction to know that there was one man who never forgot that his ancestors were Congregationalists, and who had the courage, in the face of all the popular tendencies, to stand up for what he believed to be the rights of the Congregational clergy,—a body of men, to whom, with all their faults, New England is mainly indebted for what is most distinctive in its history, institutions, and character.

Amidst his many official cares, little and great, President Quincy found time for no inconsiderable amount of literary work. In 1830 he delivered an "Address to the Citizens of Boston on the Close of the Second Century from the First Settlement of the City." It is one of the most carefully prepared, and most discriminating and valuable, of all his public addresses. He was also called, Sept. 8, 1836, at the close of the second century after the foundation of the College, to deliver a discourse in commemoration of that event. The latter, though eloquent and elaborate in itself, was chiefly remarkable for having suggested and prepared the way for his extended History of the institution. After having glanced at the four great periods, under which the events affecting the fortunes of the College may be conveniently arranged and considered, he thus proceeds:—

"From this view it is apparent, that the occasion requires, not an oration, but a treatise; not an address, but a HISTORY.

"Like the historian, then, of ancient times, when, on Grecian soil and like solemn occasion, were assembled, as now and here, the wise, the learned, the pious, and the great, let us also strive to beguile the passing hour with an appropriate story of former years; and like him,

too, leave it half told, when hearers give signs of weariness, or when the herald shall proclaim that the time has come for the feast and the games."

His "History of Harvard University" did not appear until 1840. It was a labor of love. The records and archives of the College were all open to him; and no expense was spared in order to make this work the most acceptable and enduring monument of his devotion to his Alma Mater. It fills two large octavo volumes, and, in point of mechanical execution, is still universally regarded as one of the most beautiful and perfect productions of the American press. The first impression of seven hundred and fifty copies, including the whole charge for the stereotype plates, cost above six thousand dollars. Having no view to pecuniary emolument, Mr. Quincy, at the outset, made over his property in the work to the College, guaranteeing it in any event against loss, and providing that the profits, if any, should accrue to the funds for assisting indigent students. After the first and principal sales had been effected, the balance against the work, from various unforeseen causes, amounted to between three and four thousand dollars, which was promptly paid by the author, leaving the College in possession of the remaining copies and the stereotype plates, free of all expense.

The History was cordially welcomed by the friends of the College, and especially by those most conversant with its interests and traditions. The Hon. Daniel Appleton White, to make room for one among many, writes thus:—

"By combining with your narrative of University concerns a variety of important public topics, and arranging them judiciously, with lively and graphic sketches of character, you have made your work exceedingly attractive to all readers of American history and literature. . . . You have presented a striking and most satisfactory view of the ecclesiastical history of Massachusetts,—the most so, indeed, that I recollect to have met with. Some persons may remain who will be

at first shocked at the picture drawn of the two Mathers and of Hancock, if not of a few others; but in this the author of the History cannot be blamed, as it must be perceived the portraits are of their own drawing. Nothing can be more manifest to the reader of this History than the author's determined spirit of candor, justice, and fidelity, as well as of independence."*

Now that first impressions have given place to calm and mature judgment, we are in a condition to speak with more confidence and discrimination of the merits of this work. In the first place, every student of history will know how to appreciate the Appendixes to the two volumes, embracing, as they do, a large collection of interesting and important documents, which are thus saved, and in some cases, it might almost be said, redeemed from destruction. Turning, next, to the History itself, all again must agree in according to it the qualities of a permanent and standard work. The author, it is true, wrote too eagerly and too rapidly for one who would become a model of exactness and finish: his mind was taken up by other things; nevertheless, his diction is always clear, strong, and idiomatic, rising at times into a genuine, because spontaneous, eloquence; and distinguished throughout by a certain air of independence and nobility, which

* We cannot refrain from subjoining the testimony of a foreigner, Mr. James Grahame, the author of "The History of the United States." In a letter to Mr. Quincy, from Nantes, July, 1841, he says: "As you advance, you wound some of my prejudices. The Mathers are very dear to me; and you attack them with a severity the more painful to me that I am unable to demur to its justice. I would fain think that you do not make sufficient allowance for the spirit of the times. My heart and judgment are with them in point of doctrine. From their view of discipline my judgment utterly revolts." Again, writing to Mr. Quincy's daughter in the following October, he observes: "Since my return from my late travels, I have thoroughly read your father's 'History of Harvard University,' often with pleasure, sometimes with pain, — always with final, deep, austere satisfaction and approbation. . . . No other country than your own ever produced a seat of learning so honorable to its founders and early supporters as Harvard University; and never did a noble institution obtain a worthier historian. . . . His account of the transition of the social system of Massachusetts from an entire and punctilious intertexture of Church and State to the restriction of municipal government to civil offices and occupations, is very curious and interesting, and admirably well fills up an important void in New-England history."

marked his style as well as his thoughts, and indeed his whole character. Then, too, it is quite plain that the records and archives of the University have been thoroughly explored for information respecting its internal history; by which is meant the changes in its internal constitution, its methods of instruction and discipline, and its standard of scholarship at different periods. It is doubtless to be regretted that the result is often so meagre and unsatisfactory; still we have all, or nearly all, the light on these subjects to be gathered from the books and papers of the College. More might perhaps have been done to fill out the picture from other sources; and there are those, probably, who would have liked the history better if it had been written on this principle, and in the spirit of an academic and literary antiquary. But such a work was not, of course, to be expected from Mr. Quincy. All his tastes and habits of thought, as a public man, had led him to be chiefly interested in the external history of the College; that is to say, in the history of its governors rather than of its teachers and teaching, and in its relations to public affairs, and to the rivalships and struggles of the leading men in Church and State.

By thus following his natural bent, he has doubtless given to the work a peculiar interest and importance; but with the inconvenience, that he often found himself on debatable ground, where, take whatever position he might, he was sure to be met by the stock objections on the other side.* Something must also be pardoned to an ardent mind, which is apt

* Two articles containing strictures on the work appeared in the sixth and seventh volumes of the "American Biblical Repository," — namely, a "Review of Quincy's History of Harvard University. By One of the Professors of Yale College" (Professor Kingsley); and an "Examination of Certain Points in New-England History, as exhibited by President Quincy in his History of Harvard University, and by other Unitarian Writers. By Enoch Pond, D.D." It was favorably noticed by the Rev. Dr. Parkman, in the "Christian Examiner" for March, 1841, and also, though with some discriminations, by Dr. Palfrey, in the "North American Review" for April in the same year.

to see things through an intensifying medium. Not that he confounded white with black, or black with white; but his white was sometimes a little whiter, and his black a little blacker, than the reality. Add to this, that, misled by approved authorities, he has fallen into some errors of fact; for instance, as to the influence of Sewell and Addington in framing the Charter of Yale College, and perhaps in some of his statements respecting the Mathers. But none of these things affect, in any manner or degree, his great argument; which shows, that, for the last century and a half, Harvard College has been under the constant patronage and control of what may be called the liberal party of Massachusetts, using the term "liberal" to denote, not the opinions held, but the spirit in which they were held. Down to a comparatively recent date, the governors and teachers of the College were Orthodox Congregationalists. If it has since passed, to a certain extent, under other influences, we have no right to say that it has passed into other hands. The change in the College was preceded or attended by a like change in the surrounding community. The very same class of men who have had ascendancy in the College for many generations, and who have made it what it is, have ascendancy still; the only difference being, that the minds of this class have gradually become more and more liberal in spirit, and many of them also in doctrine.

At one time Mr. Quincy had it in view to reply to the exceptions taken to his History. But he soon perceived that these exceptions related, for the most part, to inferences respecting character and motives, the justice or injustice of which his readers were already in a condition to determine for themselves. Or if, in a few cases, they extended to facts, it was, as a general rule, simply because these facts were regarded from a different point of view and with different prepossessions. Under these circumstances, the continuance of the discussion was not likely to be of any avail; and, besides,

it would require that almost every question involved in the study of the early history of New England should be reopened,—a useless and thankless task, to which he did not feel himself to be called. He begins a manuscript containing some brief and unfinished notices of his reviewers with these solemn asseverations:—

“If ever a work was written with an entire independence of any design to shape the course of the narrative to favor or disparage any religious sect or opinion, it was that work. For, so far as any human being is conscious, or has a right to speak, concerning his own state of mind or motive, I was utterly indifferent to the whole controversy. . . . I have no intention to enter into a controversy, in the results of which I have no interest, and concerning which, owing to the length and number of the discussions on the subject, almost any thing may be asserted, and almost any thing denied. All differences about the character and conduct of individuals are fair subjects of criticism and contradiction. On re-examining them, so far as my History is concerned, I see nothing to retract.”

Again, in answering a letter from a friend some years afterwards, he writes as follows:—

“You have several times intimated to me a wish, that, previously to publishing a second edition of my ‘History of Harvard College,’ I would review and consider the objections which have been made to some of my conclusions and inferences concerning the history of the period to which it relates, affecting sometimes the character of men and sometimes of parties, varying from, if not offending, the prejudices or the sentiments of one or both the sectarian divisions which exist in our Commonwealth. Almost all these objections, as far as in the course of their publication they have come to my knowledge, I have already considered, and they are generally of a nature which I cannot hope to overcome; being, for the most part, the result of theological opinions, or connected with sectarian interests, which nothing can satisfy but victory.”

Mr. Quincy resigned the presidency of the College, Aug. 27, 1845, at the age of seventy-three,—his bodily faculties but little affected by his years, and his mind not at all. He

now returned to his former mode of life, passing his winters in Boston, and his summers on his estate in Quincy; but with this difference, that, being relieved from all public cares, he could bestow his time as he pleased. Not a day, however, was lost. As soon as he found himself on his farm again, his old fondness for agricultural pursuits came back in all its freshness; and the more so, as he believed these pursuits to afford the fittest occupation for an old man,—interesting without being exciting, and deriving their interest from causes which have nothing to do with the strifes and ambitions of the world. What makes it more remarkable is, that he was able, at his advanced age, not only to take the entire management of the farm into his own hands, but to retain it for more than ten years; during which he was as intent as ever on new improvements, and as eager as ever to recommend them in conversation and by his pen. Nor was this all. It was at this period, and under these circumstances, that he added largely to his fortune by a bold and successful speculation, from which younger men shrunk, and the details of which are equally creditable to his foresight and to his public spirit. In the words of his son,—

“When Mayor, he had built a wharf, called the City Wharf, which belonged to the City, and which from its position he thought should always be held by it; and this opinion he had left on record at the time. When he was more than eighty, the City Government proposed selling this property. Mr. Quincy remonstrated against it in the papers and by memorial, setting forth the reasons why it was important that the control of that particular piece of property should be retained by the City. The authorities, however, proceeded with their scheme; and at the sale he appeared, and bid it off. Having thus the control of it, he wrote to the Mayor, offering to re-convey it to the City if it would bind itself not to sell it again for twenty years. The City refused, and he retained the property.”

Still, it was among his books, pen in hand, that most of his hours were passed. Long after he had attained to an age in

which most persons find a reason or an excuse for leaving off work altogether, he was wont to regard it as a broken day if he were not busily engaged in his library from nine o'clock in the morning to nine in the evening. Nor were his studies without object, or without fruit. In 1847, when he was seventy-five, appeared his "Life and Journals of Major Samuel Shaw." This was followed, four years afterwards, by his "History of the Boston Athenæum, with Biographical Notices of its Deceased Founders." In 1852, at the close of his eightieth year, he published his "Municipal History of the Town and City of Boston." Finally, in 1858, in his eighty-seventh year, appeared his "Memoir of the Life of John Quincy Adams." Each of these works fills an octavo volume, and must have required a large amount of literary labor; yet they betray, to the last, but little if any decay of intellectual vigor. The last work especially, if we consider the difficulty and delicacy of the task, and the success with which it is executed, in connection with the extreme age of the author, is almost without a parallel. To these must also be added a "Memoir of James Grahame," the historian, and a "Memoir of John Bromfield," published during the same period; together with several political and controversial pamphlets, called forth by the exigency of the times,—all of which are full of life, and often as effective and trenchant as the productions of his best days.*

There was a time, as before intimated, when Mr. Quincy

* Among these are found the following: "Considerations submitted to the Citizens of Boston and Charlestown on the proposed Annexation of these two Cities," 1864; "Speech delivered before the Whig State Convention, Boston, August 16, 1864;" "Address illustrative of the Nature and Power of the Slave States, and the Duties of the Free States; delivered at the request of the Inhabitants of the Town of Quincy, Mass., on Thursday, June 5, 1866,—Altered and Enlarged since Delivery;" "Remarks on the Letter of the Hon. Rufus Choate to the Whig State Committee of Maine, written in answer to a Letter of the Hon. John Z. Goodrich," 1866; "Whig Policy Analyzed and Illustrated," 1866. The Memoir of Grahame was prepared at the request of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and published in their Collections, Third Series, vol. ix. His "Memoir of John Quincy Adams" was also written at the instance of this Society.

did not hesitate to express his want of confidence in the stability of our government; but he would say, on turning the conversation to other topics, "It will probably stand as long as I do." As, however, the political prospects of the country continued to grow darker and darker, even this hope, if hope it might be called, began to fade away: he became convinced that the catastrophe might come at any moment. Amidst these gloomy forebodings, the first glimmer of light which he saw, or thought he saw, was in the Presidential canvass for Fremont in 1856; for, though unsuccessful, it showed that both the East and the West were beginning to awake to the Great Issue.* Accordingly, he threw himself into the contest with all the unabated ardor of his soul, as he afterwards did into that for Lincoln in 1860. When at length the Rebellion broke out, it gave a new life to all his old antipathies to the slave-power, heightened by a keener sense of the social and moral evil of slavery itself. But what most impressed him, and this too with a kind of religious awe, was the madness of the South, forcing upon the country that very state of things which alone would make the final and utter extinction of slavery both possible and necessary.

For this reason, even in the darkest hour of the struggle, neither his faith nor his courage ever faltered, as did that of many. This abundantly appears in his "Address to the Members of the Union Club," February 27, 1863, and in his "Letter to President Lincoln," on the 7th of the following September, — remarkable in themselves, and still more so

* The following extract from his Diary shows that he was not among those who counselled or favored extreme measures at this time: "January 23, 1857. — Received a letter inviting me to attend an Antislavery meeting, the avowed object of which is the dissolution of the National Union, — an object which I consider neither wise nor at present practicable. To all human appearance, the event is not far distant; but I have no sense of duty calling upon me to expedite it. I am not among those who believe that the separation of the Free from the Slave States would inevitably lead to the emancipation of the negroes, were it possible to unite all the Free States in such a separation. On the contrary, I believe the only hope, and that very shadowy, of emancipation, is from a continuance of the Union."

when considered as the last solemn and public utterances of their author in his ninety-second year. He writes to the President:—

“Negro slavery and the possibility of emancipation have been subjects of my thoughts for more than seventy years, being first introduced to it by the debates in the Convention of Massachusetts for adopting the Constitution, in 1788, which I attended. I had subsequently opportunities of knowing the views on that subject, not only of such men as Hamilton, King, Jay, and Pickering, but also of distinguished slaveholders,—of both the Pinckneys, of William Smith of South Carolina, and of many others. With the first of these I had personal intercourse and acquaintance. I can truly say that I never knew the individual, slaveholder or non-slaveholder, who did not express a detestation of it, and the desire and disposition to get rid of it. The only difficulty in case of emancipation was, What shall we do for the master, and what shall we do with the slave? A satisfactory answer to both these questions has been, until now, beyond the reach and the grasp of human wisdom and power.

“Through the direct influence of a good and gracious God, the people of the United States have been invested with the power of answering satisfactorily both these questions, and also of providing for the difficulties incident to both. . . . The madness of secession, and its inevitable consequence, civil war, will in their result give the right and the power of universal emancipation sooner or later. If the United States do not understand and fully appreciate the boon thus bestowed upon them, and fail to improve it to the extent of the power granted, they will prove recreant to themselves and posterity. I write under the impression that the victory of the United States in this war is inevitable.”

He did not live to see the Union restored; but his assurance of the event was entire. He even found in the delay itself a new reason for gratitude, as it could hardly fail to save the country from half-way measures, from a conclusion in which nothing was concluded,—the only thing he really feared.

Old age, as we generally find it, is a dubious blessing; in Mr. Quincy it was singularly honored and happy. A

fall, when he was on the verge of ninety, injured his hip, so that afterwards he could not walk without assistance. Excepting this, he seems hardly to have known, from early childhood, what is meant by sickness or physical disability. To the very last, his bodily and mental faculties, his sight and hearing, his animal spirits, his interest in public affairs, in his family and friends, and even in the courtesies and amenities of social life, were wonderfully preserved. His heart was as young and as brave at ninety as at thirty. And these facts are the more worthy of record, as they were manifestly the result of a strict observance of the laws of health. They show, moreover, that where these laws are properly attended to in other respects, nothing needs be apprehended from intense and long-continued activity of body and of mind.

The respect felt and manifested for Mr. Quincy in his last years by the whole community was alike honorable to both. Party triumphs and party defeats, with the passions awakened thereby, were forgotten: all that the people knew, or cared to know, was, that they had among them a venerable man, who had passed through a long public life without having the uprightness of his intentions questioned in a single instance, and without a stain on his private character. Who that was present will ever forget the spontaneous enthusiasm with which the whole audience arose to welcome him on occasion of his last two public appearances at Cambridge? But the evening, however tranquil and beautiful, must have its lengthening shadows, its setting sun, its gathering gloom. During the summer the ancestral home in Quincy, and during the winter his house in Boston (first in Bowdoin Place, and afterwards in Park Street), continued to be resorted to by distinguished strangers and devoted friends, more and more eager to testify their regard; but the companions of his youth and of his early manhood were not there.

From the time of his leaving Cambridge until he was

ninety, he amused himself by keeping a full journal of events, and of his own reading, both of which led to abundant and characteristic reflections on the present and the past.* As might be expected, the entries are often like the following:—

“January 18, 1847. — Attended the funeral of the Hon. John Davis, aged eighty-six years. Mild, amiable, affectionate, possessed of every virtue. His life useful; his death easy and timely. Farewell, my friend of many years: our separation will be short. I shall soon be with you, and I doubt not we shall meet amidst *locos lætos sedesque beatas*.”

“February 25, 1848. — I have to record the loss of the friend of my youth, of my manhood, and of my old age, John Quincy Adams, who died at the Capitol, in Washington, on the 23d instant, — on the spot where his eloquence had often triumphed, and where his worth and powers were known, and are now acknowledged. Death, which shuts the gate of envy and opens that of fame, has at length introduced him to the rewards of a life of purity, labor, and usefulness, spent in the service of his country. The language of sorrow and lamentation is universal. No tongue but speaks his praise, — well deserved, but hardly earned by a life of unceasing labor and untiring industry. Friend of my life, farewell. I owe you for many marks of favor and kindness; many instances of your affection and interest for me are recorded in my memory, which death alone can obliterate.

‘Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,
Nulli flebilior quam mihi.’”

This death was soon followed by another which touched him more nearly. His wife, who for more than half a century had shared all his thoughts and cares, and from whom, since his constrained absence in Washington, he had scarcely been separated a single day, closed on the 1st of September, 1850, a long, useful, and happy life of seventy-seven years.

* Almost every page bears witness to the pleasure Mr. Quincy continued to take in his classical studies. The Diary begins, indeed, with a free translation of “Cicero de Senectute;” and Cicero, Horace, and Tacitus appear to have been his constant companions to the end. His mind was evidently of the Roman cast.

All his children, two sons and five daughters, survived,—three continuing to live with him, and relieving him from all domestic cares; the others being settled in the neighborhood, and in a condition to render him the most delicate and grateful attentions. But he could not forget those who had gone before, and often spoke of the long-expected, long-deferred summons to join them, with a cheerfulness and naturalness which showed that his thoughts were equally at home in both worlds. At length the summons came. He died, peacefully and without suffering, at his house in Quincy, on Friday afternoon, July 1, 1864, aged ninety-two years and five months. The funeral took place on the following Wednesday, at Arlington-street Church in Boston, his place of worship in the city.

In looking back on this brief and imperfect memoir, what strikes us most of all is the degree of efficiency and success attained by the subject of it in the widely different and apparently incongruous spheres of activity to which his life was devoted at successive periods,—first as a statesman and parliamentary orator, then as a civil magistrate, and finally as the head of a college. The elder President Adams, who was his neighbor and kinsman, and had known him intimately from childhood, used to say, that he “was the most fortunate man he had ever known in his long life,—fortunate in his ancestors, in his position in society, in his wife and children, in every thing; indeed, the most remarkable instance of good fortune he had ever met with in his wide experience.” These words, uttered nearly fifty years ago, continued equally true of him to the last,—most fortunate of all in a cheerful and active old age, in a peaceful death, and an unspotted name.

After what has been said, a formal analysis of Mr. Quincy's character is unnecessary. He threw a vast amount of personality into his outward life: so that to know his history is to know the man,—his excellences and his defects. To this

statement there is, however, one exception, on which it will be proper to say a word.

His religious character was entirely misconceived by those who were willing to regard him as a partisan for a particular creed or sect. In the division which took place among the Congregationalists of Massachusetts, in the early part of the present century, he sided with the Unitarians; but he was not a man to lay much stress on theological speculations, or on ecclesiastical differences of any kind, or even on religious emotions or sympathy. With him religion consisted in bringing the desires, intentions, and thoughts into harmony with the Divine will. A man was a Christian, no matter what might be his denomination, just so far as, at home and abroad, in public and private life, he acted out Christian principles; and no farther.

"Religion," so he writes in his Diary, "is an act of the mind, and has no reference to place. It consists in studying our daily relations to God, and in endeavoring to discern and be obedient to his will; and in cultivating in our minds a constant sense of his goodness and protection, and of the gratitude due to him for the infinite mercies of which he is the source." . . .

"No years of my life have been more unqualifiedly joyful, than those since my seventieth year. I have lost many friends and comrades. They have indeed gone a little before me; but what of that? I shall soon be up with them. And I doubt not I shall join them, and that we shall travel on together in a future life; and this temporary separation will be but an incident, and not a cause of serious regret. This assured expectation is a never-failing source of comfort and happiness to the well-balanced mind of an old man." . . .

"Whatever is conformable to nature ought to be regarded as good; and what is more conformable than that old men should die? When death happens to the young, they seem to yield to an external force; but the old pass voluntarily away, as if by their own will. To me the approach of death is rather pleasant than otherwise. I seem to see land after a long navigation."

Who would not have the evening of his days made tranquil

and bright by like memories and prospects, by a like calm, natural, and sincere trust? The wonder is, that, while his faith had almost become vision, he continued as indifferent as ever to the doctrinal and ritualistic controversies which have done so much to vex and divide the Church, and indeed to all outward tests of piety except obedience and character. One who knew him well has said, "While his moral constitution kept him from all false display, the structure of his mind, as it seems to me, compelled him to bestow his attention on the logical and practical, rather than on the sentimental, aspects of religion. He went as far as he saw reason to go, and there paused, in submission to an ignorance inseparable from the present conditions of our being."* What he thought of the use and necessity of the Christian revelation, to society and government, is best expressed in his own memorable words: "Human happiness has no perfect security but freedom; freedom, none but virtue; virtue, none but knowledge; and neither freedom nor virtue nor knowledge has any vigor or immortal hope, except in the principles of the Christian faith, and in the sanctions of the Christian religion."

Mr. PARKMAN exhibited a number of photographic views of the antiquities of Peru, brought from that country by Mr. E. G. Squier, which attracted considerable notice.

The President at this moment being obliged to leave the meeting, Colonel Aspinwall, one of the Vice-Presidents, was called to the chair.

After a further examination of the photographs upon the table, the meeting was dissolved.

* Dr. Gannett's "Discourse, occasioned by the Death of the Hon. Josiah Quincy," p. 15.

T R I B U T E

TO

J A R E D S P A R K S.

SPECIAL MEETING.

A special meeting of the Society was held in the Dowse Library, on Tuesday evening, April 3, at 7½ o'clock, in commemoration of their late associate and Vice-President, Jared Sparks.

The President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, called the meeting to order, and spoke as follows:—

I cannot but remember to-night, gentlemen, that as I was leaving this room a few moments before the adjournment of our last monthly meeting, on the 8th of March, in order to accompany a part of my family on a journey from which I came home but a day or two since, I turned back to the accustomed seat of our eminent and excellent first Vice-President, to ask him once more to take the chair which he had so often and so worthily occupied before. He had always been so punctual in his attendance here, that I took it for granted, without inquiry, that he would be forthcoming at my call. It proved that he was not present on that occasion. But little did any of us dream then, that the place which had known him so long was to know him no more for ever, and that we

were so soon to lose from our cherished companionship, here and elsewhere, one to whose life and labors we were so deeply indebted, and in whose well-earned renown we all felt so much interest and so much pride. Hardly a week, however, had elapsed from that day, before a telegraphic announcement reached me in a distant part of the country, that our accomplished and distinguished friend had passed away; and that, before I could be here to unite with you in paying the last tribute to his remains, they would have been consigned to the grave. I need not assure you how proudly I should have availed myself of the privilege of bearing a portion of his pall, as the representative of this Society, had that honorable assignment found me at home, or how glad I am now to have returned in season to take part with you in these ceremonies of commemoration.

Let me not call them ceremonies; for there will be nothing ceremonious, nothing merely formal, I am sure, in what may be said or done here this evening in memory of our lamented associate. He was the last man to desire ceremonies in his own honor, or to inspire others with a disposition to deal coldly and formally with his name and fame. Indeed, there were few things, as you all know, more characteristic of Jared Sparks than the manner in which he uniformly shrunk from any assertion or any recognition of his own unquestioned title to celebrity. He was never tired of recognizing the claims of others to distinction, or of paying tribute to whomsoever tribute was due, whether among the dead or among the living. His whole life, I had almost said, was spent in doing honor to others. But for himself he seemed content with the quiet consciousness of having labored diligently, faithfully, devotedly, successfully, through a career of varied fortunes and many early discouragements, in the cause of education and letters, and of having contributed what he could to the illustration of the great names and great deeds of his country's history.

And who, we may well ask to-night,—who has contributed more than he, who has contributed so much as he, to that illustration? Not a few of his contemporaries in the field of American authorship have prosecuted their historical researches and found the heroes of their story in distant realms and in a remote past. But it has been one of the peculiarities of his career, that it has been occupied exclusively with topics connected with his native land. In the crowded gallery of portraits which have owed their execution, directly or indirectly, to the untiring industry of Jared Sparks, and which include so great a variety of character and so wide a range of service, there is not one, I believe, which is not associated, prominently, if not exclusively, with the colonial or the national history of our own country. Nor can any one write that history, now or hereafter, without acknowledging a deep indebtedness, at every step, to his unwearied researches. Abandoning, as he did, only within a few years past, as the infirmities of age began to steal upon him, his long-cherished purpose of preparing a formal narrative of our great Revolutionary period, he might yet well have congratulated himself, if his modesty had suffered him to do so, that he had quarried the materials with which others are building, and with which others must always continue to build. Certainly, no more thorough or more valuable investigation of all that pertains to that transcendent period of American history has ever been made, or is likely to be made, than that of which the abounding fruits were given to the world in his "Life and Writings of Washington," in his "Life and Writings of Franklin," and in the numerous lesser biographies with which he has enriched our historic literature. Bringing to whatever he undertook a sturdy strength of mind and body, a full measure of practical common sense, faculties of perception and comprehension which more than made up in precision and grasp for any thing which may have been wanting in quickness or keenness, a marvellous love of work, a

patience and perseverance of research which nothing could fatigue or elude, he pursued his inquiries with all the zeal of an advocate, but weighed the results and pronounced the decision with the calm discrimination of a judge. The simplicity of his style was a faithful index of the simplicity of his whole character. There was nothing in his nature which tempted him to seek brilliancy at the expense of truth. He had as little capacity as taste for indulging in rhetorical exaggerations or embellishments. No man was ever freer from unjust prejudices or unjust partialities. No man ever sought more earnestly to do justice to his subject, without displaying himself or espousing a side. And thus his historical writings will be respected and consulted, in all time to come, as the highest and best authority in regard to the men, the facts, and the events to which they relate.

Let me recall, in this connection, the language of Washington Irving, in a letter to myself, written while he was still engaged in composing that brilliant biography of the Father of his Country, which was the crowning glory of his own literary life. "I doubt," said he, "whether the world will ever get a more full and correct idea of Washington than is furnished by Sparks's collection of his letters, with the accompanying notes and illustrations, and the preliminary biography."—"From the examination I have given to the correspondence of Washington," he continued, "in the archives of the State Department, it appears to me that Sparks has executed his task of selection, arrangement, and copious illustration, with great judgment and discrimination, and with consummate fidelity to the essential purposes of history. His intelligent and indefatigable labors in this and other fields of American history are of national and incalculable importance. Posterity will do justice to them and him."

But Mr. Irving did not confine his testimony in regard to the labors and achievements of our lamented associate to private correspondence. He concludes the Preface to his own

admirable work with the following noble acknowledgment: "I have also made frequent use of 'Washington's Writings,' as published by Mr. Sparks; a careful collation of many of them with the originals having convinced me of the general correctness of the collection, and of the safety with which it may be relied upon for historical purposes: and I am happy to bear this testimony to the essential accuracy of one whom I consider among the greatest benefactors to our national literature, and to whose writings and researches I acknowledge myself largely indebted throughout my work."

Nor can I forget how emphatically this testimony was echoed by our illustrious associate, Edward Everett, whose eloquent voice we have not yet learned to do without on such an occasion as this. In acknowledging an especial obligation to Mr. Sparks, in the introduction to the "Memoir of Washington," which, at the request of Lord Macaulay, he contributed to the "Encyclopædia Britannica," he says as follows: "No one can have occasion to write or speak on the life of Washington, however compendiously, without finding constant occasion to repeat the acknowledgment of Mr. Irving, who justly places him 'among the greatest benefactors to our national literature.'"

But I need not have appealed to the testimony of the dead. There are those among the living, whom I see around me at this moment, who can do ample justice to our departed friend in all the various stages of his long and valuable life; who can bear witness to the courage and constancy with which he encountered and overcame the disadvantages of his early years; to his diligence and fidelity as a student, to his ability and devotion as a professor, and as President, of the University which he loved so well; to his generous readiness to assist others who were engaged in historical pursuits, and to his gratitude to all who assisted him; to his moral and religious character, and to those sterling qualities of head and heart which so endeared him to his associates and friends.

And here before me, too, are witnesses more impressive and emphatic than any voices either of the dead or of the living. This multitudinous accumulation of volumes on our table, hardly less than a hundred in number,—nearly all of them his own gift to our Library, all of them his own gift to American literature,—what a life of labor do they not bespeak! To what rich resources and earnest researches, to what varied accomplishments and noble achievements, do they not bear testimony! Of what an enviable and enduring association of his own name with the names of the heroes of our history, and more especially with that pre-eminent and peerless name which is to live longest in the memory of mankind, are they not at once the ample price and the assured pledge!

Without another word, Gentlemen, I submit to your consideration, by authority of the Standing Committee, the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That in the death of Jared Sparks this Society has lost one of its most valued and distinguished members, whose private virtues and whose literary achievements have alike entitled him to our respect and admiration.

Resolved, That the contributions of our lamented associate to the history of our country have been exceeded in amount and value by those of no other man among the living or the dead; and that we cannot doubt that posterity will confirm the judgment of Irving and Everett in pronouncing him “one of the greatest benefactors to American literature.”

Resolved, That the President be requested to nominate one of our number to prepare a Memoir of Dr. Sparks for our next volume of Proceedings.

Mr. JOHN C. GRAY spoke as follows:—

MR. PRESIDENT,—I have only a few words to say on the occasion which has called us together, and shall not attempt to describe with any fulness the character of our departed

associate. It is a character most interesting as a subject of contemplation.

Its leading features were its transparent integrity and simplicity. Our friend's great object seems to have been to exert his talents, which were eminent, in behalf of those interests which should be to all of us the most cherished; to inculcate, according to the best light of his own conscience, the great truths of the Christian religion; to labor in more than one high and responsible office in the cause of education; to place in a clear and striking light the characters of those to whom we have been most indebted for our national existence, and thus awaken an ardent and enlarged patriotism;—these were the great pursuits to which his life was devoted without intermission.

When we have said that in all these he was eminently successful, it is manifest that little more could be said of any man.

It is gratifying to reflect, that his merits have been duly appreciated at home and abroad. No man ever earned his honors more fairly; and we may add, that no one ever sought them with less solicitude, or wore them more modestly. No one ever pursued truth with more earnestness, or set it forth with more clearness and impartiality. His writings, like his life, were marked by dignified and unassuming simplicity. Other historians may challenge our admiration as more brilliant or fascinating; but none, I apprehend, could more command our confidence. His life, I repeat, was one of entire devotion to his country's best interests; and it would be doing great injustice to our community, to doubt that his worth will long be held in grateful remembrance. I concur fully in the resolutions which have been offered, and move their adoption.

Professor PARSONS then addressed the meeting:—

Mr. PRESIDENT,—In the year 1811, I entered Cambridge College on the same day with Mr. Sparks. Some similarity

of tastes and pursuits soon led us into more intimacy than is always common even among classmates. From that time that intimacy has never been broken. Through all these years he has been one of my nearest, one of my dearest, friends. You have asked me to offer a tribute to his memory. None more appropriate could be offered than a just presentment of his character ; and that I ought to be able to give you. But far more time than I must allow myself to-night would be required for a full portraiture of such a man. I shall only attempt to notice briefly some of his more prominent qualities. Let me add, that I have prepared with much care what I have to say of my friend. I could not speak of such a man, on such an occasion, without feeling it to be my duty to deal with him as he dealt with all persons and all topics, — with entire truthfulness.

And this suggests to me to speak first of his own simplicity and truthfulness. I have not known, and I can scarcely imagine, a man more absolutely devoid of vanity or affectation. He valued the good opinion of good men as evidence that he had succeeded in his efforts to be and to do what such men approve, and that what he had done for others would be acceptable and useful. But, in the half century of our acquaintance, I have never witnessed an act, a look, a word, which indicated even the thought of seeming other than he was ; of winning even momentary approbation by a mere seeming.

Then let me speak of his kindness. This was spontaneous, constant, universal. How many I have heard speak of his beautiful smile ! It was only the transparent covering of the feeling it expressed. In his early life he needed and he received much kindness. So far as this was pecuniary and could be repaid in that way, he did repay all these kindnesses, at the earliest moment of his power to do so, to the last dollar, as fully, as carefully, as if he had felt them to be burdensome obligations. And yet he never had any feeling of that kind ;

for he often spoke of them, and always with pleasure. Indeed, he knew how pleasant it was to him to be kind, and he was willing to believe that he had given pleasure in permitting others to be kind to him. I must not trespass upon the confidence of intimate friendship, or I might recount to you touching instances in which, while assisting young men who needed counsel, sympathy, or money, he remembered his own early wants and the way they were supplied, and felt gladness and gratitude that he was able to do to others what had been done to him. Freely he received, freely he gave.

Nor was it only so that he manifested the kindness of his disposition. I would not rely only on my own testimony, affected as that may be by my regard for him; but I call on all who knew him, to say if they ever knew from him an unkind act towards any one, or an unkind word concerning any one. I never did.

Then let me speak of his justice. Let me only say that I think I have never known any one who saw more clearly, who felt more profoundly, or who practised more perfectly, the *duty* of justice, the duty of thinking of every one aright, of feeling towards every one aright, of dealing with every one aright.

Mr. President, I have not mentioned these three characteristics only from the value I attach to them; nor only because it is not common to see any one of them carried so far as were all of them in him; nor only because it is most unusual to find them all co-existing and co-operative in one character. I have myself never known another instance. Nor have I spoken of them only because the character of an eminent and widely known man, when composed of such elements as these, forms a most valuable portion of the character of our Commonwealth and of our country. But I mention them also because they entered into and exercised a most important influence upon his success, his usefulness, his fame, as an historian and a biographer.

The same simplicity and truthfulness which he displayed in all the relations of life, governed him here. It would be almost as difficult for me to believe, that he could design or desire, from mere personal feeling, to present any fact or person in brighter or darker colors than those which he believed a faithful portraiture required, as it would be to suspect the sunshine of a desire to adorn or distort the figure it was drawing upon the prepared plate.

And then his kindness, while it never overcame his truthfulness, was never extinguished by it. He desired to speak, as an author, of every one as he thought and spoke of all whom he approached in life, and that was, as favorably as he could; as well as the truth permitted; not better; not to the sacrifice of truth. But, when all facts and circumstances were fairly and honestly considered, there was then opportunity for a kind and merciful judgment upon all questions which were left open; and this opportunity was never lost upon him.

And then his justice. I do not mean by this a mere negative justice; a mere forbearance from injustice. It was much more. His sense of the duty of justice led him to spare no time, no efforts, no industry, to acquaint himself with all the facts, and possess and use all the accessible information, which were needed to enable him to do towards all of whom he wrote, full, entire, and complete justice.

I consider it a most happy thing for our country, and for all the generations that are to succeed us, that, when they look back upon that most interesting period of our history which his principal writings cover, — the period of the birth of our country, — they may find such works as he has left ready to instruct them.

At a time not so near the acting of those great events as to cause much danger from the influence of still existing personal prejudice or predilection, and yet so near that many sources of valuable information were still open which time

would soon have closed, this work fell into the hands of one peculiarly adapted to it, and peculiarly qualified to do it well. Through the long future which we trust awaits our country, they who shall ever desire to know what it was when it began to be, may be sure that their guide through paths of inquiry, which were sometimes dark and difficult, always carried with him the light of perfect truthfulness of purpose; always gave to his readers a merciful construction of all that was fairly open to construction, but never permitted mercy to conceal or disfigure the truth; always sought to be just, exactly just, entirely just; and always gathered and made the most considerate and careful use of all the information, of every kind whatever, which could be obtained by unsparing expenditure of time, labor, or money, at home or abroad; and this in the very period when the necessary information might be found most abundantly and most accurately.

That he made some mistakes, I do not doubt, although I know not what they were. But I do not believe, that any farther investigation, any argument not yet suggested, or any evidence as yet undiscovered, will falsify in important respects the conclusions which he formed and expressed. I believe that he has given to us and to all time a narrative of the great facts he relates, and portraiture of the great men he writes of, which the future will accept as true. His word-painting of Washington, for example, will carry down to distant generations the intellectual and moral features of the Father of his country, as Stuart's portrait will carry down the lineaments and expression of his face. And Sparks's word-painting will endure when Stuart's canvas is dust.

I have said nothing of the persistent energy which overcame, from the very beginning of his manhood, and even earlier, obstacles which most men would have found invincible; nothing of his sagacity, and the strong and wide grasp of his understanding; nothing of him in the narrow — the rapidly narrowing — circle of those nearest friends, whom he

loved so well, and who loved him so well; nothing of him in the home which he filled with happiness for them who were nearer to him than friends. As recollections throng upon me, it seems to me that I have only begun to speak of him. But it is time that I should close.

I trust, however, that you, Sir, will pardon me, if I add one thought which pressed upon me during the days and evenings when I sat by the bed where he was dying. There lay a man who had been gifted with excellent qualities; and these, during a long and busy life, were disciplined, cultivated, invigorated, to the last of that life. Can a rational man believe that all this long progress was towards — nothingness? His wisdom and his goodness were the means of usefulness, and of happiness to himself and to others. Through all those many years, they grew and accumulated. Is it rational to believe that all this growth and accumulation were only for their own extinction? I refer not now to religious faith. I appeal only to reasonableness and probability. His life, unusually long, was far more than commonly useful and happy. But it was also, if judged by any test we can apply, a constant preparation for more usefulness and more happiness. What is there in the universe, or in its facts or in its laws, which justifies the belief that all this long-continued and ever-advancing preparation was — for no end? I am sure, and I have reason to be sure, that my dear friend would not himself have thought so. And I believe he would regard it as the crowning usefulness of his long and useful life, if the thought of him should suggest to any mind, or confirm in any mind, the great truth, that death is but a step forward in life.

The Hon. CHARLES G. LORING spoke as follows: —

In contemplating the termination of the mystery of earthly life in the profounder mystery of death, it is a common remark, that none have such trusting and cheerful faith in immortality as those who have most often stood by the death-

bed and the grave of the venerated and beloved. Nor is there in this any paradox; for they most deeply realize the need of the support which faith alone can give, and feel most vividly the argument derived from the seeming want of a fitting conclusion to the experiences and discipline of life, and of the consistent goodness of the Creator, which the doubt of such immortality seems to imply. In these days of multifarious psychological discussion, of the subjective and the objective, of the conditioned and unconditioned, of intuition and positivism, which seem to have made necessary the invention of a new language, it is hardly safe perhaps for the uninitiated to venture any expression of belief in any particular hypothesis. But, be the doctrine of the schools what it may, the exception is believed to be rare in which, at such seasons, the intuitions from the inner life of its immortality need the aid of any other argument for it than their own existence, or are not sufficient to baffle all that can be urged against it. And the circumstance that this conviction is the strongest when we stand by the grave of those most profoundly venerated and beloved, adds not a little to the weight of argument. So that those who have best aided in solving the mystery of life are no less our helpers in solving that of death.

In this presence I need not add, that our friend, whose departure we commemorate this evening, was eminently of that number.

With so many around me so much more competent to speak of the extent and peculiar value of his literary productions, I shall forbear entering upon that field. These shelves, and those of every the humblest library in the land, bear monuments of his intense industry, and of his claims upon the gratitude of his country as the pioneer in her Revolutionary history, which the humblest as well as the most learned of her sons can, to some extent at least, appreciate, and to which time must ever give increasing value.

My purpose this evening is to speak only and very briefly of his personal character and influences in social life, of which all who knew him could judge, and which it requires no eloquence to portray.

In social intercourse, extending very nearly over half a century, for a while blended with official relations to him as President of the College, and long since ripened into earnest friendship, I have enjoyed opportunity for a thorough knowledge of the principles and dispositions which were the rule and beauty of his daily life; and in the simplest truth may I say, that no character ever impressed me with more affectionate and profound regard for its manly loveliness and dignity.

There were, indeed, no prominently salient points or peculiarities which arrested attention as those upon which that loveliness or dignity depended, as distinguished from others; for the qualities of his mind and heart were so admirably blended and rounded off, as tended rather to obscure than to disclose the peculiar strength or beauty of either. And yet he was a man of remarkable personal identity, distinguishing him from all around him with a vividness of outline which no peculiar trait of genius, however striking, could have rendered more impressive. Of all the good, interesting, or great men whom it has been our happiness to know, it may be doubted whether any one will be more readily recalled to mind, in the lineaments of personal appearance and manners, and in all the qualities of mind and heart, which rendered his presence so pleasing, attractive, and impressive.

If we were called upon to state the peculiar impression made by his personal appearance and character, we should say, that of massive but composed strength.

His stature, his posture while standing, his firm step, his capacious head, projecting brow, large but noble features and compressed lips, his firm and deliberate speech,—all indicated great strength, though ever subordinate to a com-

posure, gravity, and gentle dignity, whose control it could never transcend.

And so was it also with his mind and heart.

If we contemplate the workings of his will, we find this strength enabling him to carve out a fortune of brilliant success in all that is most desirable in life, from the most adverse and discouraging circumstances of youth; and carrying him through Herculean labor, as the pioneer in the Revolutionary history of the country, in accumulating, arranging, and illustrating materials which render his works the foundation and treasure-house of all future history upon the subject, and have given to his name an honorable immortality.

If we turn to his affections, we find the same strength there, in the never-ceasing and profound manifestation of them to all around him; yet so mildly shining in his gentleness of manner, his cordial and benignant smile, his playful humor, friendly sympathies, and ready generosity, and tempering so kindly that resolute will, and all assertion of principle or opinion, that all consciousness of it seems lost in their gentler radiance.

And, when we seek for the principles which were the rule of his life, the same quiet, uniform strength is at the foundation of them, rendering them sovereign over all the workings of his intellect, all his aspirations, all his affections, and all his intercourse with his fellow-men; and with such familiar and habitual mastery, that we think only of a pure and lofty sense of duty as the leading trait of his character.

And so, in the manifestations of his intellect, the like strength is exhibited in its intense and long-continued devotion to the most laborious and exhaustive course of literary labor; in thoroughness of research, in comprehensive grasp, in careful discrimination, and in its clear perception of truth; raising him above the atmosphere of prejudice, fear, favor, or affection, to take his place among those who are to be accounted the oracles of history.

If it were the mission of our friend to exercise any peculiar moral influence upon the world, or upon those with whom he was more immediately associated, all will probably agree, that it was to promote the cause and the love of truth. To this his heart and mind were devoted in his religious, historical, and biographical writings, in a manner securing universal respect, however much others may have differed from him in speculative opinions or results. His influence in that direction has become, and must for ever continue to be, an operative moral force in all the records of our Nation's life. It was, indeed, most happy for her that such a man appeared, at the time when the materials for an authentic account of the great struggle which gave her birth, and of the characters and exploits of the chief agents in it, were falling into forgetfulness, or becoming more and more difficult of combination, to rescue them from oblivion,—a man endowed with the capacity and elevation of mind to make of them the broad and sure foundations of her history.

Nor was this influence less sensibly felt in social and friendly intercourse. No one could ever question his sincerity in any sentiment or opinion he uttered, nor his single desire for truth in any discussion into which he entered. He was eminently frank, and no less catholic, in conversation and argument. He contributed his full share to the mirthful *badinage* or playful satire of the festive board, and enjoyed them heartily, but never uttered a word that left a sting behind. Always most kindly cordial, and generally disposed to enter freely into conversation, or the discussion of any topic presented, he was, at times, seemingly under the influence of a temporary sadness, resulting from constitutional temperament, but which detracted nothing from the affectionate welcome which always attended his presence, while it sometimes added to the interest of his sentiments and opinions.

Of the members of an association of friends whose history

spans nearly a half a century of the most familiar and unrestrained social intercourse, there was no one more respected and beloved,—no one whose presence was ever more welcome, or whose rare absence was more regretted. And there, where the deep influences of character would be most felt, may be found those, all of whom will bear earnest testimony to the purity, gentleness, sincerity, generosity, and strength of which his was composed.

Of the religious sentiments and character of Mr. Sparks, little need be said here among those familiar with his early life as a public teacher of divine truth, with his writings in defence of the convictions which he professed, or with his other literary productions. A sense of religious faith and responsibility was an evident essential element of his being. It governed him alike in his public and private walks, and sustained him, as such faith alone can sustain, as he was consciously approaching to the close of his useful and happy life. "I think," he said, "that I shall not recover; but I am happy." And when questioned whether he was rightly understood in saying that he was happy, his answer was, "Certainly." He clung with fond tenacity to the simple forms of congregational worship, and greatly deprecated any innovation upon them of more sensuous modes. This was not, however, from any bigoted distrust of the sincerity of those who sought or desired them as helps in sentiment or faith; but unable, in his own clear perception of the relations between God and man, and his deep sense of the obligations they involve, to realize any need of them, he feared their tendency to dim that perception in others, by substituting the form for the substance, the outward manifestation for the inward reality.

To the multitude of his fellow-citizens, the departure of this great and good man may perhaps seem of little moment, as they pay their last tribute of respect to his memory. His work on earth was finished,—his natural term of life more

than accomplished. But they will not cease to be benefited by what he has done for them. The influences of his intellect and example upon the history of the country, and those of his life and character upon society,—widely spread and permanent, however invisible,—will still continue to fall upon them and those who shall follow them, like the mellow sunshine or the silent dew, long after his name shall cease to be familiar upon their lips, and however unconscious they may be of the blessing or of its author. But who shall attempt to depict the grief of the stricken household and the family circle in which he was so profoundly venerated, so tenderly beloved, and whose cup of daily happiness he was accustomed to fill?

Nor to us, his contemporaries, to whom he was a companion of our journey, who climbed with him the hill of life, sympathizing in its successes and its trials, and who were descending hand in hand with him to the shadows at its foot, can the loss be repaired. A portion of our waning sunlight is quenched; the twilight has become more dim; we have taken another long step on the edge of the dark valley. We may hope for nothing more than that our end may be like his.

Colonel ASPINWALL said:—

Mr. PRESIDENT,—As an attached friend of our deceased associate, Jared Sparks, I should prefer to listen in silence to others, rather than attempt to give utterance to my own thoughts on this solemn occasion.

The beauty and the purity of his life are all before you in memory, and as they have just been portrayed in the eloquent addresses of our respected colleagues. To their eulogies I can add very little. But as a member of this Historical Society, and especially as, by the 'Society's' favor, I have been honored with an official station by his side, I feel it right to say, that I share very deeply in the general sorrow for our great loss, and in the profound respect here

entertained for the virtues, the learning, talents, and works of a departed colleague, whose labors have added so greatly to the value and the mass of American history.

The whole nation, to the end of time, will be his debtor, for the unfaltering perseverance and eager research with which he sought out, in nearly all parts of the United States as well as in foreign lands, scattered materials, public and private, of our Colonial and Revolutionary history; and not less so for the scrupulous care and discernment with which he selected and arranged them for publication, or wrought them into the form of biographical or political history.

His conscientious exactness in regard to the truth of narrative, and the justness of historical judgments or opinions, makes him one of the most useful and impartial of modern historians. While pursuing his researches in England, he was mortified to discover some things that conflicted with our received opinions, and were not favorable to our side of the question. When asked if he could not suppress them, or explain them away, he earnestly replied, "No, it is impossible: it is my duty to declare the exact truth, and I shall do so." No national or party bias, nor the desire to make his writings acceptable or popular, could turn him aside from the path of rectitude. Of course, when the accuracy of some of his statements was acrimoniously questioned, as it was in one or two instances here and abroad, his accusers gained only dishonor for themselves. In his replies, which were demonstrative refutations, he followed the course he had taken, in the earlier part of his life, in the defence of his theological creed. He was careful to make his "moderation known to all men," and equally careful that no man "should despise his youth" or manhood.

In social life, though one of the most unassuming of men, he made himself loved wherever he went. Even children were won by his gentle and kind-hearted treatment, and, almost on a first acquaintance, clung to him as to an old friend.

All of us remember the unobtrusive amenity of his deportment among us; the habitual shade of melancholy, occasionally tinged and lighted up with a slight glow of humor; and the cordial readiness with which he always came forward, whenever requested, to elucidate points of history, or to give his good counsel on subjects connected with the welfare or purposes of the Society.

All greeted him with frank confidence; and we shall all long remember and mourn him as a lost brother.

Eloquent and feeling tributes were also paid by the Hon. JAMES SAVAGE, the Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., Professors BOWEN and PEABODY of Harvard College, and the Rev. ROBERT C. WATERSTON.

Letters from Mr. TICKNOR and from Mr. FRANCIS PARKMAN, who were prevented by illness from being present to join in tributes to their late associate and friend, were read at the meeting.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted, all the members rising.

A copy of each of the works of Dr. Sparks, representing his written and his editorial labors (numbering over one hundred volumes), was exhibited upon the table.

A copy of the bust of Dr. Sparks, by Powers, was also placed in the room.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1866.

The Society held its annual meeting this day, Thursday, April 12, at eleven o'clock; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; the City of Boston; the Boston Society of Natural History; the Essex Institute; the New-England Historic-Genealogical Society; the New-England Loyal Publication Society; the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon; the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association of Cincinnati; the Publishers of the "Right Way"; Mr. Arthur Amory; John Appleton, M. D.; Rev. Caleb D. Bradlee; Samuel Brush, Esq.; Count Adolphe de Circourt; Dèloraine P. Corey, Esq.; Henry B. Dawson, Esq.; Mr. John W. Dean; Mr. Ezra C. Dyer; Professor Daniel C. Gilman; Charles H. Hart, Esq.; Ludwig Henselmann, Esq.; Hon. Samuel Hooper; Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq.; Thomas S. Kirkbride, M. D.; Mr. Henry J. Morgan; William J. Rhees, Esq.; Hon. Alexander H. Rice; Benjamin S. Shaw, M. D.; Horatio G. Somerby, Esq.; Henry R. Stiles, M. D.; Daniel E. Webb, Esq.; Hon. Henry Wilson; Colonel James G. Wilson; Mrs. Joseph E. Worcester; and from Messrs. Deane, Green, Lawrence, Metcalf, C. Robbins, Ticknor, Wheatland, and Winthrop, of the Society.

James Parton, of New York, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Dr. APPLETON, the Assistant Librarian, requested permission to make a copy of the *fac-simile* of the Proceedings of the Town of Ipswich in opposition to Sir Edmund Andross, which Dr. Appleton had presented to the Society a few years since.

These applications were granted under the rules.

Two printed broadsides, presented by Mr. E. C. Dyer, of Cambridge, were communicated by the President. One of these was a "Notification" by Thomas Clark, Town Clerk of the Town of Boston, dated February 26th, 1822, calling upon "The Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston . . . to meet at Faneuil Hall, on Monday, the fourth day of March next, at 10 o'clock, A.M., to give in their ballots on the following questions, viz.:—

"1st, Will you accept the charter granted by the Legislature, entitled 'An Act to establish the City of Boston,' as passed on the twenty-third day of February, 1822?

"2d, Shall the elections for State and United-States officers be holden in General Meeting?"

The second paper is dated "Centinel Office, 12 o'clock, August 19, 1824," and is headed "General Lafayette," and reads as follows: "The Mayor has this moment received official information from New York, that MAJOR-GENERAL LAFAYETTE will proceed forthwith to Boston, and will be at the Half-way House between Providence and Boston on Sunday evening next; and that he will enter Boston the next day. The arrangements for his reception will be announced on Saturday."

The chairman of the Standing Committee, the Treas-

urer, the Librarian, and the Cabinet-keeper, presented their Annual Reports, which were accepted and referred to the Committee on the Publication of the Proceedings.

Annual Report of the Standing Committee.

The Standing Committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society, on a review of its condition and action during the past year, have found little which requires to be particularly mentioned in their Annual Report.

Since the last annual meeting, the Society has had to mourn the loss of four of its best known and most esteemed associates, to whose memory fitting tributes have already been paid,—Mr. Willard, Mr. Livermore, Dr. Worcester, and Dr. Sparks, its first Vice-President. The deaths of six Honorary and Corresponding members have also been brought to the notice of the Society in the course of the year. Five Resident Members and one Corresponding Member have been elected during the same time.

The Library and Cabinet of the Society have been examined, and found to be in their usual good order. For particular information respecting them, the Committee beg leave to refer to the Reports of the Librarian and the Cabinet-keeper; and, for a detailed statement of the financial condition of the Society, to the Report of the Treasurer.

The Standing Committee would, however, suggest to their associates, that the existing shelves and book-cases of the Society are quite insufficient for the proper arrangement of the books and manuscripts already in its possession, and afford very little accommodation for future additions. At the same time, for want of means, the Library is falling far behind what it should be, and is very defective even in works of such primary value as Histories of the nation, and of the different States, Counties, Cities, and Towns. The Committee

feel that they cannot too strongly urge upon the members of the Society the importance, not to say the necessity, of an increase of its pecuniary resources.

No volume of the Collections of the Society has been completed since the last annual meeting; but one is now in the course of preparation, and the materials for another are ready for the press. Several of our members have published, outside of the Society, original works of great historical interest, among which Parkman's "Pioneers of France in the New World," and Frothingham's "Life of Warren," deserve special mention.

In closing this brief abstract of the life of the Society during the past year, the Standing Committee would respectfully remind their fellows, that the recent loss of so many of the leading members and most faithful workers of the Society calls upon the survivors for increased labor and devotion, if they wish to prove themselves worthy to be associates and successors of those who have been taken from us, and to maintain and transmit the reputation and usefulness of the Society.

All which is respectfully submitted.

For the Committee,

HORACE GRAY, JR., *Chairman.*

Annual Report of the Treasurer.

The Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society presents the following statement of its financial condition:—

GENERAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL, 1866.

DEBITS.

Balance due Treasurer, April, 1865	\$1,682.48
John Appleton	999.97
George Arnold	699.96
Insurance	187.50
Boston Taxes	1,027.00
Sundries	438.41
Amount carried forward	\$4,980.27

Amount brought forward	\$4,980.27
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	120.00
Appleton Fund	782.18
Printing	700.77
Binding.	221.44
Coal	115.00
	<u>\$6,869.66</u>

CREDITS.

Rent of Suffolk Savings Institution	\$2,200.00
Assessments	819.00
Admission Fees	30.00
Sales of Society's Publications	802.85
Tax of Suffolk Savings Bank	1,027.00
Sale of \$1000 U. S. Stock	1,062.00
Interest on U. S. Stock	42.30
Sundries	20.40
Balance due the Treasurer	1,866.81
	<u>\$6,869.66</u>

THE APPLETON FUND.*

Account ending April, 1866.

DEBITS.

John Appleton, services	\$200.03
Benjamin Bradley, binding Collections, vol. vii.	112.95
Balance in the Treasurer's hands	761.66
	<u>\$1,074.64</u>

CREDITS.

Balance of Account of 1865	\$342.46
One Year's Interest on the Investment in Society's Building	782.18
	<u>\$1,074.64</u>

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND.

Account to April, 1866.

DEBITS.

Balance in the Treasurer's hands	\$750.57
	<u>\$750.57</u>

CREDITS.

Balance of Account of 1865	\$680.57
Income to April, 1866	120.00
	<u>\$750.57</u>

* For a particular description of the different funds belonging to the Society, see the Treasurer's account of last year.

PROPERTY OF THE SOCIETY.

The Estate on Tremont Street.—The Society purchased, March 6, 1833, of the Provident Savings Institution, the second story, and one-half of the attic story, of this building, for \$6,500; and on the 13th of March, 1856, the remainder of the interest of this institution, for \$35,000. A portion of this was paid by subscription; and, for the remainder, the Society mortgaged the whole estate to the Suffolk Savings Bank for Seamen and Others, for \$27,500. This mortgage was discharged on the 7th of April, 1863. The payments on the note have been as follows: Two thousand dollars from the legacy of Miss Mary P. Townsend; sixteen hundred dollars from the legacy of the late Nathaniel I. Bowditch; five hundred dollars from the Historical Trust-Fund; twelve thousand two hundred and three dollars from the net proceeds of the sale of stocks of the Appleton Fund; ten thousand dollars from the note of Hyde and Watriss, constituting the Dowse Fund; and the balance, eleven hundred and ninety-seven dollars, from a donation by the late Hon. William Sturgis, to enable the Society to discharge the mortgage. The lower floor is rented to the Suffolk Savings Institution for fifteen years from March 1, 1856, at an annual rent of \$2,200.

The Library, Paintings, and Cabinet.—The Library consists of about thirteen thousand bound volumes, and twenty thousand pamphlets.

The Society's Publications.—These consist of the thirty-seven volumes of the Collections, five volumes of Proceedings, and two volumes of the Catalogue,—nearly eight thousand volumes, which are for sale.

The Appleton Fund, of ten thousand dollars; *The Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund*, of two thousand dollars; *The Dowse Fund*, of ten thousand dollars,—all invested in the real estate of the Society, as explained in this Report.

The Dowse Library.—This Library was presented to the

Society by the late Thomas Dowse, and consists of about five thousand volumes.

The Copyright and Stereotype Plates of the "Life of John Quincy Adams." — This was presented to the Society by the Hon. Josiah Quincy. A new edition is on sale by Nichols & Noyes.

THE INCOME.

The income of the Society consists of an annual assessment on each resident member, of seven dollars — or, instead, the payment of sixty dollars; the admission fee, of ten dollars, of new members; the rent of the lower floor of the Society's building; the sales of the publications of the Society; and the sales of the "Life of John Quincy Adams."

It will be seen that the amount realized from the sales of the Society's publications, the last year, was only \$302.65, — not half the sum realized the previous financial year; and this notwithstanding unusual effort has been made to dispose of them. The Society have on hand 5,197 bound volumes, and 2,475 unbound. It is not too much to say, that they embody a vast amount of invaluable material for American history, which no student of it can afford to neglect; and it is fair to presume that these volumes will in time be called for. In the mean time, should the Society continue its usual labors, it will be necessary to provide additional means.

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM,
Treasurer.

Boston, April 10, 1866.

Annual Report of the Librarian.

Depending chiefly on voluntary contributions, we cannot but entertain a profound sense of gratification at the steady growth of our Library. The additions since our last Annual

Report, amounting to six thousand two hundred and seventy-two in number, of which five hundred and ten are printed volumes, greatly exceed the average of previous years. Frequent and valuable gifts from the President, in all more than two hundred; continued benefactions from another of our associates, in donations of town histories and publications relating to the late rebellion; an extensive collection of books and pamphlets from John F. Eliot, Esq., formerly belonging to his grandfather, one of our original founders,—deserve our especial acknowledgment. Among the last is a complete set of Fleet's Register, commencing with the year 1779, which, from its rarity and the information it contains, not to be found elsewhere, is peculiarly acceptable. The whole number of volumes at present in the Library is nearly eighteen thousand; of pamphlets, twenty thousand.

All our shelves are now filled; and late accessions, numbering several hundreds, are temporarily deposited in the large upper room. Nearly eight thousand pamphlets are heaped upon the floor of the adjacent apartment, the cases provided being already crowded. In bringing this fact to the knowledge of the Society, it is not intended to discourage further donations. It must ever be our paramount obligation to perfect our collection in all its departments, securing every issue from the press, old or recent, which can, by any possibility, ever be in request. Opportunities neglected may never recur. When all our available space is occupied, we should make more; for it is far better to submit to inconvenience, than fail to procure, while in our power, material that future historians may need.

One serious embarrassment from limited shelf-room is unavoidable confusion in arrangement. Order is an essential element of every well-regulated library, and has been a marked feature of our own, since it was placed under the charge of Dr. Appleton. Works on the same subject, or analogous in character, are contiguously disposed, the eye embrac-

ing them all at a glance. Authorities to the same point, for convenient reference and comparison, should be in close proximity; and it is matter of common experience how much more tenaciously we retain nice distinctions and interesting facts from having constantly in view, in their proper connection, the volumes from which we have obtained them. Folios and duodecimos, though intimately related from common authorship or identity of topic, must generally be distributed according to size, and chronological or geographical order be subordinate to symmetry or economy of space. But, where this rule of contiguity cannot be strictly observed in one direction, it may be in another; and, while each volume has its place not often disturbed, accommodation should be reserved in its neighborhood for accessions of a kindred nature. With our present contracted limits, this exact classification is constantly becoming more difficult. We must content ourselves with approximation to completeness, until we possess an edifice more nearly commensurate with the objects of the Society.

As many years may elapse before it becomes expedient again to change our location, one mode of relief that has been suggested deserves consideration. By substituting a Mansard roof for the present one, another commodious story might be gained for the uses of the Library. Our "collections" and unbound newspapers are now stored in the attic; but if that floor be improved as proposed, and connected with that beneath by a circular flight of iron steps, the new apartment could be devoted to pamphlets and public documents not often consulted, and accommodation left below for several thousand volumes. This estate may be soon more valuable for other purposes; but the improvement, judiciously made, will enhance, to the full extent of its cost, the price realized in the event of sale. If not deemed advisable to make this alteration now, we have it in reserve.

Methodical arrangement, all-important with regard to

books, is not less to be studied in the assortment and preservation of pamphlets. If generally ephemeral in their nature, they serve to transmit the "form and pressure" of the times that produce them, and are indispensable to historical inquiry in determining the true character of events, controversies, and personages of particular epochs. From his long familiarity with the subject, and thorough knowledge of what has been tried and approved in other collections, Dr. Appleton has devised a plan for making our rich stores readily available, admitting of indefinite extension without confusion. By their distribution under twelve different heads of— 1. Addresses; 2. Almanacs; 3. Catalogues; 4. Celebrations; 5. Documents; 6. Memoirs; 7. Orations; 8. Reports; 9. Sermons; 10. Speeches; 11. Trials; 12. Miscellanies; with numerous subordinate classifications;— every separate publication can be promptly brought within reach of the student. Some of them, which are peculiarly precious, may be of sufficient value to be bound separately, others in regular series in volumes; but the great mass are to be arranged in cases, suitably labelled and numbered, where they are accessible, and at the same time little exposed either to wear or tear or dust.

As received, each pamphlet is marked with initials corresponding to the division to which it belongs; and these initials are also inscribed in the margin of the catalogue card, indicating the place where it is to be found. The arrangement in each division is alphabetical, under the names of the authors, where known; otherwise, following the subject or title of the tract. A complete card catalogue, such as is now generally to be found in every large library, wherein each book as well as pamphlet is indicated in triplicate by subject, author, and title, is useful; and such a one we have in preparation. We might well wish to possess such a double classified catalogue of authors and subjects as that for pamphlets at the Athenæum. It would be also convenient for those who, at a distance, have occasion to consult our Library, or to

have copies prepared from volumes not to be found anywhere else, to have our printed catalogue completed. A Library without such a catalogue is nearly as valueless as a book of reference without an index. The plan described for pamphlets, combining simplicity and economy of labor, will serve our purpose for a time; and we may well leave to our successors, and to the more prosperous days of the Society, the task of perfecting it. In the hope that this plan will be permanently retained, its details, not before presented in the Proceedings, are appended to this Report.

The expediency of procuring every publication and document, in print or manuscript, relating to the late rebellion, cannot be too strenuously urged. No pains should be spared to obtain whatever will throw light on the motives which have actuated in this contest individuals or masses. To apprehend correctly its civil and military history, the addresses, general orders and reports of Confederate, as well as of Federal, leaders must be examined. When, after a few years or generations, all cause of irritation has been removed and animosities have subsided, either side of the quarrel will afford useful lessons for example or caution. By correspondence with intelligent persons in the Southern country, able and disposed to aid, much that may prove of the greatest value at a future day could be gleaned. If the Committee appointed for this duty had a small appropriation at their disposal, the result would no doubt repay the cost.

For this and similar objects, to bind books that need it, supply odd volumes to broken sets, or to perfect series where incomplete, to obtain the latest historical productions fresh from the press, to rescue precious waifs from auctions or second-hand repositories, we much need a permanent fund. If the favored almoners of Providence, who possess the will and the way to mark their path with golden footprints, would divert from other claims a trickle of their bounty; if a few thousands, or even hundreds, of dollars were allowed

to accumulate until the income should prove sufficient to purchase books we need, not likely to be bestowed, — we should in time possess a collection adequate to our wants, and to the position which we hold as the oldest American Historical Society.

THOMAS C. AMORY, *Librarian.*

System of Classification of Pamphlets in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

1. ADDRESSES. — Educational, Historical, Medical, Political, Society, and Miscellaneous.
2. ALMANACS. — Isaiah Thomas's, Robert B. Thomas's, and Miscellaneous.
3. CATALOGUES. — Book, College, Library, School, Society, and Miscellaneous.
4. CELEBRATIONS. — Centennial, Miscellaneous.
5. DOCUMENTS. — City, Law, Library, Political, State, Town, United States.
6. MEMOIRS. — Biographical, Genealogical, Historical.
7. ORATIONS. — Boston, Collegiate, Fourth of July. Occasional.
8. REPORTS. — Benevolent Institutions, Educational, Library, Medical, Railroad, Society, and Miscellaneous.
9. SERMONS. — Artillery Election, Centennial, Convention, Dedication, Election, Fast, Funeral, Historical, Installation, Ordination, Society, and Miscellaneous.
10. SPEECHES. — Congressional, Legislative.
11. TRIALS. — Judicial.
12. MISCELLANEOUS. — Anti-Slavery, Boston, Coinage and Currency, College, Ecclesiastical, Educational, Harvard College, Historical, Library, Medical, Masonic and Anti-Masonic, Political, Prison Discipline, Railroad, Society, Statistical, Theological, and Unclassified Pamphlets.

Report of the Cabinet-keeper.

The Cabinet-keeper has the honor to submit the following Report, which, on account of his unavoidable absence, is the first which he has been able to make for five years. He would acknowledge his indebtedness, during this time, to the Assistant Librarian, Dr. John Appleton, for the care and attention he has given to the Cabinet, and for the Reports he has, with the exception of the last year, annually made.

The accessions to the Cabinet have been from fourteen different individuals. The following list comprises the most important: A cane, formerly belonging to John Hancock, and given by Charles L. Hancock, Esq.; a portrait of Governor Strong, copied from Stuart's picture by Chester Harding, and given by Joseph Lyman, Esq.; a portrait of the Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D.D., one of the principal founders of this Society, painted by Henry Sargent in 1798, and presented by his grand-daughter, Mrs. Jules Marcou; an engraving of the Hon. Daniel Webster, given by our associate, William G. Brooks, Esq.; and a portrait of the Rev. John Eliot, D.D., a former member of this Society, from his nephew, John F. Eliot, Esq.

The Society has a very interesting and valuable collection of portraits of distinguished persons. Many of the paintings deserve better places than they now occupy, and others will soon require the attention of a skilful artist to protect them from the further ravages of time.

There is also a collection of Indian relics, consisting principally of weapons and implements. It is to be hoped that this department of our Cabinet will soon receive that attention which so important a branch of American Archæology demands.

The Cabinet-keeper refrains from repeating certain suggestions, which, if adopted, would involve an expense that

the treasury could not at present easily bear. He looks forward to the time, however, when changes will be made, by which the various articles can be more conveniently shown than at present, and be more readily examined by all who frequent these rooms.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Cabinet-keeper*.

APRIL 12, 1866.

Mr. S. LINCOLN, from the Nominating Committee, reported the following list of officers for the ensuing year:—

President.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D. BOSTON.

Vice-Presidents.

COLONEL THOMAS ASPINWALL, A.M. BOSTON.

HON. JOHN C. GRAY, LL.D. BOSTON.

Recording Secretary.

CHARLES DEANE, A.M. CAMBRIDGE.

Corresponding Secretary.

REV. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D. BOSTON.

Treasurer.

HON. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, A.M. CHARLESTOWN.

Librarian.

THOMAS C. AMORY, A.M. BOSTON.

Cabinet-keeper.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D. BOSTON.

Standing Committee.

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, A.M. BOSTON.

CHARLES FOLSOM, A.M. CAMBRIDGE.

AMOS A. LAWRENCE, A.M. BOSTON.

HENRY W. TORREY, A.M. CAMBRIDGE.

SAMUEL ELIQT, LL.D. BOSTON.

The above-named gentlemen were unanimously elected.

On motion of Dr. ROBBINS, it was *Voted*, That the thanks of the Society be tendered to the Hon. Judge Gray and the Rev. G. E. Ellis, the retiring Members of the Standing Committee, for their valuable services.

Mr. FOLSOM moved that a Committee be appointed to prepare an authentic list of the Archives of the Society.

The motion was adopted, and the President appointed Messrs. Folsom, Amory, and Green to constitute that Committee.

The President read the following letter from the Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, LL.D., of Virginia, and addressed to himself:—

CHARLOTTE COURT-HOUSE, VA., March 30, 1866.

MY DEAR SIR,—Five years and fourteen days have elapsed since I received a letter from you,—a period of time that will ever be memorable, not only in our own history, but in that of the human race. In all that interval, I did not see a single company under arms, though more than a million of men were engaged in the fearful affray on one side, at one time; for it was reported, at the time of the surrender of General Lee, that General Grant told that officer that he had a million of men under his command. Yet, though secluded on my farm in this county, and taking no part in the struggle, I suffered in my estate most severely. I lost fifteen valuable horses at a single raid, and of course all my servants,—at least one hundred in number. Other losses to a great amount I suffered; and now, when old age is approaching, I am required to exercise a degree of thrift and economy, which—at no time, from my simple habits of life, very uncongenial—is not more pleasant because it is necessary. Should matters remain as they are, I shall have enough left to educate my son of ten, and my daughter of six years, and give them a fair start in the world. As these are my only children, and all I ever had, and as I was immured on my estate during the whole war, I met with no loss of life in my family. The

health of my wife was as good as usual during the war; and thus my household remains as it was at the beginning.

I am now on my estate in Charlotte County, which has been my legal residence for more than a quarter of a century. For the ten years previous to 1861, I usually spent half the year in Norfolk, which is the place of my birth and the abode of my personal friends. I state these things that you may know why it is that I write to you from Charlotte. The county of Charlotte is not void of historical interest. A few miles from my house is Roanoke, the home and burial-place of John Randolph; and somewhat further off is Red Hill, the seat of Patrick Henry and the place of his burial, now owned by the patriot's youngest son, John Henry, my intimate personal friend, who intermarried with the relations of my wife, and whose children are blood relations of my own. Here, too, is the grave of Paul Carrington, the grandfather of my wife, and of Thomas Read, her grand-uncle. These two last you will see an account of in my discourse on "The Virginia Convention of 1776."

And now let me ask whether it is true that one whom I so much esteemed and honored as President Felton is no more. I saw a single line in a newspaper, during the war, that Mr. C. C. Felton died at some place in Pennsylvania; but the locality seemed so foreign to his character, that I indulged the hope that it could not be our noble friend. I have inquired in vain concerning him of persons who have visited the North, and who, being merchants, knew but little of literary men.

Will you kindly tell me about him, and send me any notice of his death that has been published? Of the death of Mr. Everett I know; and, as I presume the Historical Society took notice of it, you will greatly oblige me by sending any account of its proceedings.

We literally know nothing of what occurred in literature during the last four or five years. I have not seen the "Edinburgh" or the "London Quarterly" for five years; or the "North American." Respecting Mr. Choate, I would like to know whether his friends have published his writings. I have Mr. Parker's book, but would like exceedingly to get any thing from your great advocate, whom I very much admired. I trust that Mr. Hillard still lives, and Professor Parsons, — gentlemen whom I do not know personally, and only through their writings.

The latest edition of Judge Story's Miscellaneous Writings I would like to procure; and the proceedings of the Historical Society on the

death of Mr. Quincy, Chief-Justice Shaw, and Judge White, and of any other prominent members who have died recently.

All Mr. Everett's works published in volumes I possess; but, if his contemplated work on the "Laws of Nations" has been published, I would wish to obtain it. I presume that Mr. C. F. Adams, being engaged abroad, has published no life or works of his father. Mr. Quincy's work I possess.

Death has made sad havoc among my most intimate personal friends during the last four years. Mr. Tazewell died in 1860; and, at intervals since, President Tyler, Bishop Meade, and Professor Tucker. With these excellent men, whom I had known from childhood, and with whose writings, for many years past, I was connected as a friend and coadjutor, I seem to have lost much of my *moral* being. With Bishop Meade I held almost daily intercourse during the time he was engaged on his "Old Churches," &c.; and not far from a hundred letters passed between us. Of Professor Tucker's "History of the United States" I revised the first volume, while I spent a winter in Philadelphia; and, during the publication of President Tyler's discourses on historical topics, our communication was most intimate, as his references indeed show. The loss which you have sustained in Mr. Quincy, Mr. Everett, Mr. Felton, and others, will enable you to appreciate all that I feel and say on such subjects, with this qualification, perhaps, — that you lost only of your abundance, while I lost almost all.

I have said nothing of public affairs either in the South or elsewhere; and will only add, that, if on any point you may wish to obtain any information which I am able to give, I will write to you in detail, to the best of my knowledge in the case. I will only say that it is by affection, not by force, the unity of dissimilar communities is to be consolidated.

Is Mr. Deane living? I hope indeed he is; for his taste and liberality were of great service to our early historical literature. Should he be living, would you be so kind as to present my regards to him? If he has published — or rather, I should say, privately printed — any *morceau* of late years, tell him that I would be much gratified to place it by the side of the treasures which he has already bestowed upon me.

I saved my books, statuary, paintings, &c., though they suffered slightly by exposure. I have had all my paintings, my busts, &c., in the woods, covered with leaves from time to time, as a raid approached. My manuscripts and some precious books were from time to time

buried; and, on one occasion, the rain came for several days in torrents, and the water rose in the graves to which they were committed, and soaked them thoroughly: but I dried them by hot fires and a hot sun, without material loss.

I need not say that any literary production of yours will be most acceptable. I have your volume of *Speeches* printed in 1852; and have bound, in a handsome form, those which you were so kind as to send to me, and which I value highly.

By the way, in taking down the volume of your *Speeches* published in 1852, I saw the paper containing an account of the celebration of the Cincinnati Society in 1857, which you were so kind as to send me; and the fact occurred to me, that my wife is one of the few now living who own the Cincinnati diploma in the *second degree*, her father having been an officer in the Revolution of 1776. It is framed, and hangs in my dining-room. The same holds good of the children of Alexander Hamilton, two of whom, I believe, are now living; but my memory cannot supply me with a third, *who actually holds the diploma in the second degree from the ancestor*. During the war, I was fortunate enough to purchase Stuart's portrait of the late Governor William B. Giles, which represents him to have been quite handsome during the last century, when it was painted (1791-95). I knew him personally as far back as forty years ago, when he was one of the *homeliest men* I ever saw. His health was bad for many years before his death. I hope you may see this portrait some of these days.

I left in my dwelling in Norfolk, in 1861, my statue of the "Fisher's Daughter," by Pettrich, where it remained during the war, and I got possession of it in November last, when my house was restored to me. It was taken because I was absent at my residence in Charlotte, to which I removed in 1861. My painting of "The Shunammite" was also in my Norfolk dwelling, and it was most pleasant to see it after a lapse of four years. It is *large*, six feet by five, and perhaps larger, as it could not be accommodated in any of our rail cars, and was left behind in consequence of the inability of the cars to hold the box containing it. But alas! you may say, to think of paintings and statues and books, when our country is in its present condition! It may be that this is the cause of my trifling.

As I have some paper left, and am disposed with the Antiquary to get the full benefit of post horses,—that is, of the public mail,—I would communicate a statement, which, to a person of your comprehensive tastes, may not be without some interest.

I have recently made an examination to ascertain the number of the survivors of the Virginia Convention of 1829-30, which consisted of ninety-six members, and began its sessions in October, 1829, — thirty-seven years ago nearly; and the result is, that there are *twelve* survivors, the aggregate of whose ages is *nine hundred and six years*, and the average age of each survivor is *seventy-five years*. One died a month or two ago, who is reported to have been near one hundred. Another fact is, that the survivors are apportioned among the four great divisions of the State (as it once was), according to population nearly. The next decennial wave will sweep us all away, or nearly so: as, if all were living, the average age of each would be over eighty-five. One of the present survivors was with John Randolph, when he was insulted by the officers of John Adams's provisional army, in the theatre in the *city of Philadelphia*, in 1799. I have often heard this survivor speak of that incident. His age is near ninety. Another member is between eighty and ninety. James M. Mason and myself are the only *two* under seventy. He is sixty-eight, and I am not yet sixty. It is a mournful office to see such a body of men, so able, so eloquent, so vigorous as they were, pass one by one to the grave. And it may be well enough to say, that the deaths did not occur according to the ages of the members. Some of them, whom you probably knew, — John Y. Mason, Dromgoole, Trezvant, Goode, — died before their turn.

It would be interesting to know the biological facts of your great Convention of 1820, in which John Adams presided, and in which such men as Story and Webster were among equals.

What a theme that Convention would be in the hands of Everett or yourself! and would it not be a becoming thing, on its semi-centennial anniversary in 1870, to put forth a picture of the members as they appeared at the time? Such a collection, in a single discourse, would be an invaluable addition to your historical literature.

With another petition to be pardoned for drawing so heavily upon your patience,

I am very truly yours,

HUGH B. GRIGSBY.

To the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP,
Boston, Massachusetts.

MAY MEETING.

The Society held its stated monthly meeting this day, Thursday, May 10th, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; Colonel ASPINWALL, one of the Vice-Presidents (the President being absent), in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the State of Ohio; the State of Rhode Island; the New-Jersey Historical Society; the New-England Loyal Publication Society; the Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Industry; the State Historical Society of Iowa; the Proprietors of the "Heraldic Journal"; the Proprietors of the "Savannah Republican"; John Appleton, M.D.; Surgeon-General Joseph K. Barnes; J. M. Clark, Esq.; Mr. A. Cushing; Mr. E. H. Goss; B. A. Gould, Esq.; George Punchard, Esq.; Hon. A. H. Rice; Dr. J. M. Toner; Daniel Treadwell, Esq.; W. A. Whitehead, Esq.; Hon. Henry Wilson; Mrs. J. E. Worcester; Professor S. J. Young; and from Messrs. Amory, Deane, Green, Lawrence, Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

Dr. ROBBINS, the Corresponding Secretary, reported a letter of acceptance from James Parton, Esq., of New York, who had been elected a Corresponding Member at the last meeting.

Mr. DEANE communicated a letter from Mr. Ticknor, relating to a few letters found among the papers left by the late Miss Belknap. They were intended for the Society, if Mr. Deane should decide that they were worthy of preservation. Mr. Deane stated that the package received contained letters of the elder Buckminster,

John Eliot, Governor Gore, and others; and, on his motion, the thanks of the Society were presented to Mr. Ticknor for this acceptable gift.*

Mr. DEANE read a letter from Mr. Whitmore, regretting his inability to be present at the meeting, as he had contemplated reading a paper on the "Early Engravers of New England." At Mr. Whitmore's request, Mr. Deane communicated this paper to the meeting; and, on his motion, it was referred to the Committee on the Publication of the Proceedings.

THE EARLY PAINTERS AND ENGRAVERS OF NEW ENGLAND.

BY MR. WILLIAM H. WHITMORE.

It has been commonly supposed, that the earliest portraits painted in New England, except possibly a few executed by amateurs, were those by Smibert. We propose to show that there was at least one earlier resident painter, and to call attention to his proficiency in the kindred art of engraving.

It is probably safe to assume, that, prior to 1723, no engraver capable of executing a portrait on copper or steel had visited New England. In that year appeared a "Life of the Rev. Increase Mather," by his son, Cotton Mather, which, though printed by B. Green for R. Belknap in Boston, has prefixed a very poor portrait, the work of John Sturt, an English engraver, who died in London in 1730.

Nothing but the lack of a competent artist here could have caused the publisher to send abroad for this portrait.

PETER PELHAM.

Soon after this date, however, an educated artist of very

* Many of these letters are worthy of publication, but are reserved for a future volume of Collections from the "Belknap Papers." — Eds.

considerable ability did take up his residence here. This was Peter Pelham, of whom we know only that he had been resident in London, and there, by his wife Martha, had children, baptized at St. Paul's, Covent Garden: viz., Peter, 17th December, 1721; and Charles, 9th December, 1722.

Two letters from his sister, Helen Pelham, fortunately preserved, show that their father was living in 1748, but was dead in 1763, and that he lived to be over eighty years of age; and it would seem probable, that he was Peter Pelham, an English engraver, born about 1684. Of him Dr. Spooner ("Biographical History of the Fine Arts") writes that he engraved a number of portraits, and had a son, J. C. Pelham, born in 1721, who painted historical pieces and portraits, but achieved no reputation. This connection is, however, purely conjectural.

The earliest work we have yet traced to Pelham is his engraved portrait of the Rev. Cotton Mather, dated 1727. It is inscribed, "P. Pelham ad vivum pinxit, ab origine fecit et excud." This is a distinct claim to his execution of a painted portrait; and in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Mass., among the other family portraits of the Mathers, is an oil painting which corresponds with the engraving. Not only are the accessories the same, but the portrait is reversed in the engraving, as if the artist copied it upon the copper as it stood before him. We may surely accept this as Pelham's original, as there is no other claimant. The picture has been repaired and rebacked within a few years, thus preventing any chance of finding an inscription thereon.*

* By the kindness of Mr. Deane, my attention has been called to the following receipt among the Belknap Papers:—

Boston March the 19th 1727-8.

Received of the Revd Mr. Benja Coleman the Sum of 8 shillings being the first Payment of the Subscription for a *Print in Meizoo*: of the late Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather, by which the Bearer is Entitled to the said *Print* Paying 2 shillings at the Delivery of the same, By me Peter Pelham.

The Italics are in writing.

In 1731, Pelham published a portrait inscribed, "Rev. John Moorhead, Minister of a Church of Presbyterian Strangers at Boston in New-England. Transit hora sine mora: sic transit Gloria Mundi. Præter Deum Optabile nihil est. P. Pelham pinxit et fecit." The same inscription, "pinxit et fecit," is on an undated portrait of Mather Byles. With these confirmations of the Mather portrait, we may be sure that Pelham was a painter.

Yet he did not engrave his own pictures solely: two other painters, we know, were associated with him. In or about 1734, he engraved Smibert's portrait of the Rev. Benjamin Colman, of which the Rev. E. Turell ("Life of Colman," Boston, 1747, p. 231) writes:—

"His picture drawn in the year 1734 by the greatest Master our Country has seen, Mr. John Smibert, shows both his Face and Air to Perfection: And a very considerable Resemblance is given us in the Metsotinto done from it by Mr. P. Pelham, which is in many of our Houses."

Most critics to-day would be apt to consider Pelham's engravings as superior to Smibert's paintings.

In 1743 the portrait of the Rev. William Cooper, and probably soon after, that of the Rev. Joseph Sewall, both painted by Smibert, were engraved by Pelham.

In 1750, a portrait of the Rev. Thomas Prince was engraved by Pelham, from a painting by Greenwood.

We have thus the names of Smibert and Greenwood as resident artists. Of these, John Smibert, a Scotchman, born at Edinburgh in 1684, had studied in Italy before 1728, when he was induced by Bishop Berkeley to share his fortunes in America. With the failure of Berkeley's scheme we have nothing to do at present; but it was the means of bringing Smibert to Boston, where he married and had children.

Greenwood was undoubtedly a citizen of Boston, and of

both these artists we shall have more to say after completing our notice of the Pelhams.

To revert to Peter Pelham. We are obliged to glean from the journals of the day the few items which help us to gain a few details of his life. We have already shown that he came here probably between 1724-26; that in 1727 he engraved Cotton Mather's portrait, and in 1731 John Moorhead's, as well as that of Benjamin Colman in 1733-34.

In 1734, we find that he had already commenced a school, in which, by later advertisements, we find he taught not only writing and reading, but dancing, painting, and needlework. The department of needlework may have been confided to his wife.

The advertisement in the "Boston Gazette" for April 5th, 1734, reads, —

"At Mr Pelham's House near the Town Dock is to be sold sundry sorts of Household Goods (for Cash) very Cheap, he having Intention to break up House-keeping.

"N.B. Attendance will be given from Eight till Twelve o'clock every morning, but not after that Hour on account of his preparing for his School in the Afternoon, which he continues to keep as heretofore."

The next announcement, from the "Boston Gazette" for Feb. 6th, 1738, reads thus: —

"Mr Peter Pelham gives notice to all Gentlemen and Ladies in Town and Country, That at the House of Philip Dumerisque Esq, in Summer street (next his own Dwelling house) Young Gentlemen and Ladies may be Taught Dancing, Writing, Reading, painting upon Glass, and all sorts of needle work."

In 1743 Pelham issued an engraving of the portrait of the Rev. William Cooper, inscribed "J. Smibert pinxit, P. Pelham fecit 1743. Printed for and Sold by Stephen Whitney at y^e Rose and Crown in Union Street, Boston."

The next item, also in reference to an engraving, is from the "Boston Evening Post" for July 27th, 1747:—

"A curious Print of His Excellency, William Shirley, Esq, done in mezzotinto, by Mr Peter Pelham, to be sold by him at his school, in Queen Street—at Mr Stephen Whitney's, at the Rose & Crown, in Union street,—and at Mr. James Buck's near the Brazen Head, in Cornhill."

On the 22nd of May, 1748, Pelham was married at Trinity Church to Mrs. Mary Singleton, widow of Richard Copley, of Boston, and of course received into his family her son John Singleton Copley, afterwards so distinguished as an artist. To this period belong the two following advertisements. The first from the "Boston News Letter" for July 11, 1748:—

"Mrs Mary Pelham, (formerly the widow Copley on Long Wharf, tobacconist) is removed to Lindel's Row, against the Quaker Meeting House, near the upper end of King Street, Boston, where she continues to sell the best Virginia Tobacco, Cut, Pigtail, and Spun, of all sorts, by Wholesale and Retail, at the cheapest rates."

The second is from the "Boston Gazette" for September 20th, 1748:—

"Mr. Pelham's Writing and Arithmetick School near the Town House, (during the Winter) will be open from Candle Light till nine in the Evening, as usual, for the benefit of those employed in Business all the Day —; and at his Dwelling House near the Quaker's meeting in Lindall's Row, all persons may be supply'd with the best Virginia Tobacco, cut, spun into very best Pigtail and all other sorts; also Snuff at the cheapest Rates."

A sprightly antiquary of this city, some two years ago, founded quite a lively article upon the Copleys, on a mistaken view of these advertisements. It seems perfectly clear, that Mrs. Mary Pelham, finding her husband's means not abundant, preferred to add her contribution to the common fund by keeping up her tobacco-shop. It seems as clear that her husband pursued his path of engraving and teaching: we

shall presently show to which pursuit the step-son, Copley, was directed.

During the ensuing three years, Pelham seems to have been most fully employed as an artist; and here we may properly insert, in its chronological order, the following letter written by his sister in England: —

Oct. 8. 1748

MY DEAR BROTHER, — I begin writing to you without knowing whether it will ever come to your hands or not, but I am determined to write, and hope you will get some of my letters if not all. This is the third time I have wrote since February; in my last I told you that my father was very well, and so he is now, thank God Almighty for it. I am in the country, but hear frequently from my dear father. We have been out of town ever since the second of May. I long to have a letter from you to know how you and all your family does. In your last you were so good as to tell my father how your sons was disposed of. I hope Peter is happily married. As Charles is brought up a merchant I flatter myself that some time or an other he will come to England. O my dear soul how glad I shall be to see him; if please God I should be alive then. I shall here send you a direction how to write to me, which I did in my two last letters, but till I hear from you I am not sure you got them. I hope you will never fail to write when any ships come to London, for it is the greatest pleasure in the world to my dear father and me to hear of your welfare. I am sure my letters must be very stupid to my dear brother, as I have nothing entertaining to tell you, for as you know none of my acquaintance, nor I any of yours, must make my letters very stupid; for after I have inquired how you, your wife, and the dear children are, and tell you my father and self are well, I have nothing more to say. As for news I can never write of that you have in a better manner than what I can express it. So will conclude with my best wishes and love to your self and to your wife, and to all your family and hope you will believe me to be,

Your ever loving sister

HELEN PELHAM

I send this to town to my
father & get him to send it
to the New England Coffee house.

Direct for me at the Hon^{ble} Mrs. Conways
in Green St, near Grosvenor Square

To Mr Peter Pelham, Sr.
at Boston in New England.

We again quote from the "Boston News Letter" for June 7th, 1750:—

"To be sold by James Buck at the Spectacles in Queen St. An accurate Print in Metzotinto of the Rev Thomas Prince, A. M. Likewise all Sorts of Maps & Prints, among which is a Set of Prints completely coloured, proper for viewing in Camera Obscuræ."

To this period of his life we may assign the portrait of the Rev. Joseph Sewall, "J Smibert pinxit, P. Pelham fecit," and possibly that of Mather Byles already noticed. There is also a portrait of the "Rev. Edward Holyoke Præs. Harvard 1749," which is in Pelham's style, though not signed by him.

The last item we have found is in the "Boston News Letter" for September 17th, 1751, and reads as follows:—

"To be sold by P. Pelham, at his house near the Quakers Meeting-House, a print in Metzotintu of Thomas Hollis, late of London, merchant, a most generous Benefactor to Harvard College in New-England, having founded two Professorships and ten Scholarships in said College, given a fine Apparatus to Experimental Philosophy, and increased the Library with a large Number of valuable books &c. &c. done from a curious whole length Picture by Joseph Highmore in London, and placed in the College Hall in Cambridge. Also sundry other Prints at said Pelham's."

The records of Trinity Church in Boston, where Pelham had long worshipped, show that he was buried December 14th, 1751. We have searched in vain for any obituary notice of him from any of the clergymen whose appearance he has preserved for posterity. Brief as this sketch is, we now know more of him, perhaps, than of most of his contemporaries; and, if we can restore him to his rank as the founder of the arts of painting and engraving in New England, our time has been well employed.

It is probable that Pelham left very little property, since no inventory was returned by his widow. The year following she published this notice in the "Boston Gazette" for Aug. 18th, 1752:—

"All persons indebted to the estate of Mr Peter Pelham, late of Boston, deceased, are hereby requested to pay the same to Mary Pelham, widow, Administratrix to said estate; and those to whom the Estate is indebted are desired to apply to the said Administratrix in order for a settlement."

For nearly forty years Mrs. Pelham continued to reside in Boston, and without doubt her declining years were cheered by the success of her son, Copley, whose talent as a painter had brought him fame and competence.

Her son by Pelham, viz., Henry Pelham, born 14th February, 1748-9, was also an artist, like his half-brother. He certainly painted and engraved a picture on "The Finding of Moses," and, by a brief account of him in the London "Notes and Queries," First Series, vol. iv. p. 306, it seems he published other engravings. He was a good civil engineer, and was agent in Ireland for the Marquis of Lansdowne. He was accidentally drowned in the river Keshmare, 1806. His face, however, has been preserved in the famous picture of the "Boy and Squirrel," which was Copley's first great success. As is well known, this noted picture, since the death of Lord Lyndhurst, has been reclaimed, and added to the art-treasures of our city.

The death of Mrs. Pelham, widow of our artist, called forth the following notice in the "Boston Gazette" for May 4th, 1789:—

"Died, on Wednesday last, Mrs Mary Pelham, widow of Mr Peter Pelham, late of this town, and mother of Mr. Copley. Her funeral will be attended this afternoon, at four o'clock, from her dwelling house, at New Boston, when and where, her, Mr Copley's and the family's friends and acquaintances are requested to grace the procession."

Her will makes her "good friend, Charles Pelham of Newton," her executor; and to him and to his daughter (her god-daughter), Harriet Pelham, various bequests are made.

JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY.

The last and most famous member of Pelham's family was his step-son, John Singleton Copley, born in 1738, the son of Richard Copley, who died in 1748.

It is not our province here to examine the life or recount the triumphs of Copley as a painter. It is enough for us to claim him as an engraver on the evidence of an engraved portrait of the "Rev. William Welsted of Boston in New-England, Æ. 58, 1753, J. S. Copley pinxit et fecit. Printed for and sold by Stephen Whiting at y^e Rose and Crown in Union St."

This first step in his artistic life bears so plainly the mark of Pelham's style, that we may be sure it was to his step-father that Copley owed much valuable rudimentary instruction. It is true he afterwards deplored his lack of proper teaching; but this may well refer to that higher training which he sought and obtained abroad. Only four years afterwards, in 1757, he painted those grand portraits of the Tracys of Newburyport, which in his old age he regarded as nearly his best productions in that style. So far as his initiation in the art, and very possibly the awakening of his taste, is concerned, we may surely claim Pelham as Copley's master.

We will close this account of the Pelhams, by relating a few particulars in reference to the descendants of Peter Pelham and his first wife.

His son, PETER, jun., had married here in 1746; but, in or about 1749, he removed to Virginia, where his family increased to thirteen children. We have seen quite an extended pedigree, tracing many branches now scattered through the South and the West. One descendant was William, Surveyor-general of Arkansas, and probably another was the artillery officer who has gained some notoriety among the Rebels, in Virginia.

WILLIAM PELHAM, the youngest son, was born in Boston, and undoubtedly was buried from Trinity Church, 28th January, 1760-61.

CHARLES PELHAM, the other son by the first wife, was educated as a merchant; but the following advertisement in the "Boston News Letter" of April 23d, 1762, probably refers to some period when he had been unsuccessful:—

"Charles Pelham hereby informs all the Gentlemen and Ladies in Town and Country that he proposes again to open a Dancing School on Monday the third day of May next, at Concert Hall, where he will give constant Attendance as usual, every Monday, Thursday and Saturday in the Afternoon, provided he may meet with suitable encouragement. He therefore begs leave to desire that those who intend to favour him therein, would be so good as to apply to him (at Mrs Pelham's, next door to Thomas Lechmere Esq, at New Boston) any Time before the said Third of May."

To this period belongs the following letter addressed to him by his aunt:—

CHICHESTER Feby 15th 1762.

MY DEAR NEPHEW,—The third of this month brought me the comfort & pleasure of a letter from you dated Nov. 2. 1761. Indeed I was rejoiced to see one, for I have been vastly uneasy as I have never heard from you since Oct. 27, 1759 & I have written you three letters since that. My dear I have never heard from you since that dreadful fire happened at Boston, therefore judge of my uneasiness. But, thank God, I have now heard that you are well, as for your brother Peter, I have not heard from him this age—poor William you mentioned him to me & said he was but of a poor constitution, and till then I did not know that there was any children of your mother's, but Peter & you; or if I did I had forgot it. So your brother has five children, poor man I pity him. You have never seen Capt Parker I suppose since you told me of him, I know him perfectly well

Now Charles as to my picture, how can you think I would sit for it. Your grandfather sat for his at 80, 'tis true, but there never was so handsome, so charming a man at that age as he was—it was with much ado that I got him to have it done. I told him I would not be without it for any thing in the world, nor indeed no more I would, and

as there was a tolerable good painter upon the place, I insisted on it — but as to miniature there is not one nearer than London, & it would cost above half a year's income to have it done, were I even there, and most likely I shall never go there again, for tho' my dear father was older than I, yet in constitution I was always older than him. So desire never to hear any more on that subject, for I shall never come into it.

I am much obliged to Mr Parsons who sent me your letter directly, and I send this to him and beg the favour of him to send it. I desire you will send yours to him when you write, which I hope will not be long before I shall be made so happy. Now I must tell the dates of my letters which I wrote — Yours of Oct 27, I recd Jan'y 2. 60 — & I answered that Apr 18 — I wrote again Aug 15, & in Mch 13 61 — so you see how often I have wrote to you — 3 letters for one. I hope this will come safe, for indeed my dear, writing is not the agreeablest thing in the world, unless I could write as well as you do — but my writing and spelling is so bad that I can take no pleasure in it — but it is the only way that any one can have the pleasure of conversing with their friends & I hope so near & dear as you are to me that you will be good enough to make allowances for an old woman.

I saw in the papers you had a fine burial at Boston — poor General Whitmore, some of his troops are here. I think it was a sad accident he met with My dear child I cannot possibly make my letter agreeable to you by telling you all the chit-chat, as you know not a soul here, so will conclude with assuring you how much I am

Your affectionate aunt & humble servant

HELEN PELHAM.

P. S. — My dear nephew. I do not remember any thing about your ever having the small pox, but think it most likely you never had it, by your brother having so lately got it — so hope you will always avoid it, as you say you have done. I cannot tell what to say in regard to your coming to England, as it is not in my power to give you the assistance I could wish, therefore must say you are right in staying in a place where you are known & settled — & dont doubt but God will give a blessing to your honest endeavours, & shall think myself happy in hearing from you & of your welfare, — which I hope you will be so good as to gratify me in as often as you can.

He soon retrieved his position, if indeed, in the opinion of the time, he had ever lost it; and, removing to Medford,

where he was schoolmaster, married there 6th December, 1766, Mary, daughter of Andrew Tyler by his wife Miriam, a sister of the famous Sir William Pepperell. He is named in 1779, by Colonel Royal, in a letter from England, as "Charles Pelham, Esq., who used to do business for me."

Prior to his marriage, he had bought, in April, 1765, the homestead of the Rev. John Cotton, in Newton, with one hundred and three acres of land, for £735. Jackson says of him, "He was represented by his neighbours to have been a very polite and intelligent man. Opened an academy at his own house, and fitted scholars for College." — "He was a staunch friend of the Colony, as will appear by the resolutions he prepared for the Town."

His daughter, Helen, married Thomas Curtis, and was the mother of our late distinguished citizen, Charles Pelham Curtis. We may add, that the portrait of Charles Pelham, painted by Copley, is still preserved.

JOHN SMIBERT.

Of John Smibert, whom we have mentioned as an early artist, we will present two facts which are probably not extant in print. First, he married Mary Williams, at Boston, 30th July, 1730, and had children,—Alison, b. 14th May, 1731; William, 29th January, 1732; John, 24th November, 1733; Nathaniel, 20th January, 1734. Secondly, the inventory of his estate which contains some interesting items. It reads as follows:—

Inventory of the Estate of Mr. John Smibert, late of Boston, Painter, taken by us the subscribers, in February, 1752.

The easterly half of the House & land in Queen St.	£466 .. 13 .. 4
Fourteen acres of land in Roxbury	186 .. 13 .. 4
A House lott of Land in the Westerly part of Boston	10 ..
Plate, 109 oz & 15 p ^t	36 .. 6 .. 4
Silver watch & seal & 2 rings	8 .. 2 .. 8
Wearing apparel 12. 12, Library 11. 18. 5	24 .. 10 .. 5
Fire arms & silver hilted sword	8 .. 17 .. 4

Colours & oyls 307 .. 16 .. 5, 35 portraits 60 .. 5 .. 4	368 .. 1 .. 9
41 History pieces & pictures in that taste	16 .. 0 .. 0
18 Landskips 2 .. 18 2 Conversation Pictures 23 .. 6 .. 8	25 .. 19 .. 8
Bustoes & figures in Paris plaister & models	4 .. 5 .. 8
Prints & books of prints 11 .. 12 .. 8 Drawings 4 .. 16]	16 .. 8 .. 8
Pillows, prospect glass & magnifying glass, foyles & flutes	1 .. 11 .. 4
An eight day clock 9 .. 6 .. 8 Desk & book case 8	17 .. 6 .. 8
Escrutore 2. Table Linnen 9 .. 18 .. 8 Sheeting do 16 .. 9 .. 11	28 .. 8 .. 7
two pieces of brown linnen	5 .. 15 .. 8
4 feather beds Bolsters & pillows Bedsteads & Curtains	21 .. 6 .. 8
8 do do do	8 .. 0 .. 0
12 pr of blankets & 8 rugs	3 .. 12 ..
two silk quilts & a coverlid 4 .. 18 .. 4 five looking glasses 6 .. 17	11 .. 10 .. 8
China & Earthen ware	8 .. 17 .. 4
three chests of drawers & 1 table 5 .. 18 4 Easy chairs & couch 1 .. 17 .. 4	7 .. 10 .. 8
three dozen & 10 chairs 12 .. 8 .. 4 Ten tables 4 .. 6. 5 carpets 2 .. 4	18 .. 18 .. 4
Pewter 8 .. 9 .. 2 Iron & tin ware 11 .. 2 .. 11	19 .. 12 .. 1
Brass & copper ware	18 .. 19 .. 2
Bell metal skillits 49] 1/2	2 .. 12 .. 9
Gross of glass bottles 1 .. 12 Lumber in the garrett 2 .. 1 .. 4	8 .. 18 .. 4
Negro girl Phillis 26 .. 18 .. 4 Horse chaise & runners 24 .. 5 .. 4	50 .. 18 .. 8
Cloaths press, chest, boxes, brushes, baskets, bellows &c	1 .. 16 .. 8
	£ 1887 .. 4 .. 9

DAVID CUTTER

JOSEPH GALE

JOHN GREENWOOD.

MARY SMIBERT } adm^o
 JOHN MOFFATT }

22 Sept. 1752.

[Suff. Wills, vol. 46, p. 277.]

We have not space to attempt an enumeration of his pictures, nor can we easily account for his undue popularity. Perhaps the association with Berkeley aided him socially, or he may have owed something to his marriage. At all events, though but an inferior painter, his tastes must have led him to a close acquaintance with his fellow-artist, Pelham. Some indication of this may be found in the tradition, that John Singleton Copley, Pelham's step-son, was a student with Smibert. To be sure, Copley was only thirteen when his presumed instructor died; but it is very probable that he was the recipient of some attention, if not information. Smibert seems to have been highly estimated by the public of his day, and numerous portraits remain bearing the stamp of his painstaking, but utterly commonplace, brush.

His son, Nathaniel Smibert, is said to have shown much promise as an artist, but he died at the age of twenty-one.

JOHN GREENWOOD.

Of the other associate of Pelham, John Greenwood, we know much less. I am indebted to Isaac J. Greenwood, of New York, for the information that he was probably the son of Samuel Greenwood, of Boston, ship-builder and merchant, by his second wife, Mary Charnock, and was baptized at the Old South Church, 10th December, 1727. If this be the person, he married, 17th December, 1769, Frances Stevens; left this country before the Revolution, went probably to India, but eventually settled in London as an auctioneer, and died at Margate in 1792.

In confirmation of this theory, it will be noticed that John Greenwood was one of the appraisers on the estate of John Smibert, and is the only one whom we can suppose to have been competent to value the paintings composing a part of it.

The fourth name to be placed on the list of painters here, is that of Richard Jennys, jun., whose portrait, in metzotint, of the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, of Boston, is inscribed "pinxit et fecit." It was published by Nath. Hurd, and, though undated, must have been issued before 1768.

Lastly, we have to place on our list the name of BLACKBURN, of whom at present no particulars can be given, so completely has his memory been forgotten, although as an artist he was second only to Copley.

GOLDSMITHS AND ENGRAVERS.

We have now to consider a class, more properly denominated artisans, than artists,—men who were rarely employed

on copper or steel plate, but who wrought at goldsmith's work, or engraved cards and similar small pieces.

First among these we place Nathaniel Hurd, born at Boston, 13th of February, 1730. He was the son of Jacob Hurd, goldsmith, and Elizabeth Mason, his wife. The pedigree is traced through Jacob, a joiner of Charlestown, to Jacob of Boston, a son of John, who was a settler here in 1639.

As Nathaniel Hurd was, perhaps, the most accomplished engraver from 1750 to 1777, the following particulars may be interesting.

In a memoir of him, published in the "New-England Magazine" (Boston, 1832), Mr. Buckingham writes:—

"In seal-cutting and die-engraving, Mr. Hurd was considered superior to any in the colonies. Coats-of-arms, pictures, and carvings were not much valued and sought after, a century ago, in New England. They approximated too near to graven images, in the view of our puritanical forefathers, to meet with much encouragement. Portrait-painting, however, met with considerable countenance. They deemed it a mark of family affection, and individual respect and esteem; so that, from the time of Mr. Smybert, who came over to this country with Dean Berkeley, down to the period when Copley flourished as our first portrait painter, there were very few families, in easy circumstances, who had not a picture by the hand of that very eminent American painter; but, as to engravings on copper-plate by an American, there was hardly such a thing to be seen in New England."

Of Hurd he adds,—

"He was probably the first person who undertook to engrave on copper in the United States. We have seen a miniature likeness of the Rev. Dr. Sewall, minister of the Old South Church in Boston, engraved by Hurd, in the linear style, in 1764. In this art he was his own instructor."

We have seen that this writer was mistaken about Hurd's position as the earliest engraver, as this honor belongs to Pelham. We think it very probable that he was a pupil of Pelham's, since there was an acquaintance between the

families, evidenced by the portrait of Hurd, painted by Copley.

In truth, we doubt if Hurd ever made any other portrait than that mentioned. His skill lay chiefly in executing small plates, of which many specimens remain. The taste of the day for coats-of-arms led many people into the fashion of having book-plates made. Those which we have seen are very neatly designed and well executed, the details of the ornamentation being very delicate. Another example remains in a plate for invitation cards of Thomas Bernard and Edward Oxnard, for the Commencement at Harvard, in 1767. The demand for such articles as cards and bill-heads probably sufficed to keep one artist well occupied; but, as an additional employment, he used to engrave or chase silver-plate.* The growing wealth of New England found expression then in the use of massive plate; and one of the most common advertisements in the journals of the day was of silver lost or stolen. Often it is described as stamped "Hurd." The father and brother of the engraver were goldsmiths here. A salver yet owned by E. C. Moseley, Esq., has the stamp "Hurd," and on the face is engraved a fine representation of the Oliver arms.

We have Mr. Buckingham for our authority in saying that Hurd also published one or more caricatures, as that of the pillorying of a certain Dr. Seth Hudson, who, in 1762, was convicted of counterfeiting the Province notes.

Hurd probably never married. His brother, Benjamin Hurd, was a goldsmith, as was also his brother-in-law, Daniel Henchman, a son of the Rev. Nathaniel Henchman.

* We insert the following advertisement from the "Boston Gazette," 28th April, 1760:—

"Nathaniel Hurd informs his Customers he has remov'd his Shop from Maccarty's Corner on the Exchange, to the back Part of the opposite Brick Building, where Mr Ezekiel Price kept his Office, where he continues to do all Sorts of Goldsmith's Work; likewise engraves in Gold, Silver, Copper, Brass, and Steel, in the neatest Manner and at a reasonable Rate."

In his will Nathaniel Hurd mentions his sister Sarah, who married Thomas Walley, and was the ancestress of Wendell Phillips, Esq., and of the Hon. Samuel H. Walley, of Boston. He also mentions his sister Anne, the wife of John Furnass; and to her son, John Mason Furnass, he bequeathed his tools, owing to the genius which Furnass discovered for the profession of engraving.

THOMAS JOHNSON AND ROBERT TURNER.

Out of courtesy to the sex, we will next insert from the "Boston Gazette" for May, 1748, the advertisement which follows:—

"Drawing, Japanning and Painting on Glass taught by Mrs Sarah Morehead at the Head of the Rope Walks, near Fort Hill." And proceed to two other engravers, whose works mainly contributed to arouse the devotion of our ancestors. These were Thomas Johnson and Robert Turner, both of whom furnished plates of music to accompany the Versions of the Psalms in use a century ago.

When the first plates appeared is, perhaps, now forgotten; but the following title shows something of the matter:—

"An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm-Tunes. In a plain and easy Method with a collection of Tunes in three Parts. By the Reverend Mr Tufts. The Eleventh Edition. Printed from Copper-Plates, Neatly Engraven. Boston, N.E. Printed for Samuel Gerish, 1744."

In this there are ten pages of music; but, instead of notes, the letters F, S, L, M, are used.

Eight years after this, however, we find the following volume issued:—

"A New Version of the Psalms of David; Fitted to the Tunes used in the Churches: with several Hymns out of the Old and New Testament. By John Barnard, Pastor of a Church in Marblehead.

Boston: N.E. Printed by J. Draper for T. Leverett in Cornhill 1752."

At the end are sixteen pages of music, the notes being angular or diamond-shaped instead of round. "Engraved, Printed & Sold by James Turner near the Town House, Boston, 1752."

That Turner sometimes practised other parts of his profession, is witnessed by two examples. In the first place, we have a copy of the book-plate of John Franklin, brother of Benjamin, which is quite neatly designed. For a photograph of this, I am indebted to William Duane, Esq., of Philadelphia, and it has been published in the "Heraldic Journal" (vol. ii. p. 97).

Secondly, there is among the Curwin papers, at Salem, a bill dated Marblehead, Sept. 2, 1752, and rendered to the executors of William Lynde, containing these items:—

To 8 escutcheons for y ^e Funeral of y ^e Dec ^d at 8 ap ^a . . .	£6
„ an Inscription on y ^e Breastplate of the Coffin . . .	0 .. 8
„ 9 enamell rings for do w ^t 13 dwt. 23 gr. } . . .	4 .. 4
„ fashioning ditto at 9 4 ap ^a . . .	
„ adding a Crescent for difference to each of the Escutcheons at 2 ap ^a . . .	11
	<hr/> £11..16

Here ends our present knowledge of this Essex worthy, though we have searched the files for some notice of his death.

Of our townsman, Thomas Johnson, we know a little more. He was born here in 1708, and died 8 May, 1767, aged 59, as his tombstone in the King's-Chapel yard shows.

In 1760 there appeared—probably a companion to Barnard's version and Turner's notes, and adapted to conservative minds—the following volume:—

"A New Version of the Psalms of David: Fitted to the Tunes used in the Churches. By N. Brady, D.D. Chaplain in Ordinary,

and N. Tate, Esq; Poet-Laureat to His Majesty. Boston; New England: Re-printed by D. and J. Kneeland, in Queen-street, for T. Leverett, in Cornhill. 1760."

Annexed are 16 pages of music, "Engraved, Printed & sold by Thomas Johnston, Brattle Street, Boston, 1755."

It may be added, that these sets of notes were detached from the text, and could be sold and used with any version, or separately.

In 1760 we also find the following announcement in the "Boston Gazette," under date of April 28, 1760:—

"An exact Chart of Canada River (from the Island of Anticosta, as far up as Quebec) the Islands, Rocks, Shoals and Soundings, as they appear at Low Water (taken from the French). to be Sold by the Printers hereof, and by Thomas Johnston in Brattle Street."

Johnston had also practised as a herald painter; for we have seen a tricking of the Lynde arms, dated in 1740, and signed by him, which shows that he was quite proficient in water-color painting.

In his inventory, wherein he is termed a "japanner," we find the following items:—

"10 small pictures 30s; glass arms, 4s; 2 pictures 62s; Dr. Mayhew and Mr Gee's picture 36s; 6 pictures 9s; large piece of painting 24s; 4 pictures 2s; Book of Heraldry 48s; sundry pictures £2 .. 16 .. 4; 3 paint stones and brushes, 15 copper plates, 40s; *easel*, burnishers, &c.—one organ unfinished &c."

By his nuncupative will, he left to his wife, Bathsheba, "all my psalm-tune plates, together with the press."

It seems highly probable that he also engraved a little portrait of Increase Mather, of which a copy is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

On the whole, with his known engravings and his *easel* left behind him, Johnston may claim to be admitted to the fraternity of the early New-England artists.

Lastly among our Colonial or Provincial engravers we may name Paul Revere. He was born, says Buckingham, in Bos-

ton; in December, 1734, his father being a goldsmith here, and his grandfather, being a refugee from France, living in Guernsey.

Revere first practised his art as an engraver of silver plate; but afterwards he tried his hand on copper-plate.* Buckingham records a portrait of the Rev. Dr. Mayhew as one of his earliest efforts. A warm patriot, he devoted much time to political caricatures and engravings connected with our early struggles with the Crown.

"In 1775, he engraved the plates, made the press, and printed the bills of the paper money, ordered by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, then in session at Watertown."

Of the events of his public and private life we need make no farther mention, as they are sufficiently well known.

We may conclude our account with Buckingham's citation from the manuscripts of Samuel Davis of Plymouth, in regard to the succeeding engravers. He names "Vent, Brigdon, Webb, Edwards, Pierpont, Burt, Bowyer, Parker, Belknap, Emery, Holmes, Tyler, Woodward, Frothingham, and Codner." We may add Callender, who acquired and destroyed Pelham's plates, as we were assured by the late Rev. William Jenks, of Boston.

A circular letter from William A. Whitehead, Corresponding Secretary of the New-Jersey Historical Society, was read, inviting this Society to send delegates to the New-Jersey Society's meeting, on Thursday, the

* Curiously enough, Revere also tried his hand at a set of notes for the Psalms, as appears by the following in the "Boston Gazette," 4 Feb. 1765:—

"Just Published and to be Sold by Josiah Flagg and Paul Revere in Fish Street at the North End of Boston—A Collection of the best Psalm-Tunes in two, three and four Parts, from the most celebrated Authors; fitted to all Measures and approved of by the best Masters in Boston, New-England. To which are added, Some Hymns and Anthems; the greater Part of them never before Printed in America.

Set in score by
Engraved by

Josiah Flagg.
Paul Revere."

17th of May, at which it is intended to celebrate the two-hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Newark.

This communication was referred to the Standing Committee, to ascertain if it would be agreeable to any of the members to be present on the occasion referred to.

Dr. ELLIS spoke of the volume of Proceedings which the Society had directed to be prepared from its early records. As one of the Committee, he had examined these records; and though he believed our predecessors were, in their labors, equally faithful with the present members, yet he found that the records were exceedingly meagre; and it would be necessary, in order to properly illustrate the early history of the Society, to seek for information from other sources. Many memoirs of deceased members were yet to be written. It remained a question with him whether he should prepare memoirs of these members from such sources as were open to him, to be included in the volume, or adopt some other method. Information or assistance from any member who could offer it, was desired.

On an inquiry from Mr. SIBLEY, whether one volume would embrace all the Proceedings of the Society, from its commencement to the time at which the first printed volume of Proceedings begins, Dr. Ellis stated, that it would depend upon the amount of material that could be collected beyond the Records, whether one volume or more would be requisite.

Professor TORREY referred to a paper printed in the second volume of the fourth series of our Collections,

being a "letter from certain ministers and others of New England to Cromwell, upon his application to persons here [in New England] to settle in Ireland;" and he read from Pendergast's "Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland" a passage (founded on unpublished manuscripts), from which it appears that a few persons did emigrate from New England, and were admitted as tenants of a portion of the confiscated Irish lands. Several families went over in 1656, and were settled near Garristown, about fifteen miles north of Dublin. In 1655, two islands near Sligo had been set apart for the use of expected immigrants from New England; but whether they were ever settled in this way, does not appear.

The Corresponding Secretary called attention to a printed broadside, which he had noticed in his Cabinet, containing the yeas and nays on General Conway's motion in the House of Commons, 27th February, 1782, in favor of terminating the war with the American Colonies. The sheet was sent to the Society by the Hon. Thomas Beekman, of Peterboro', Madison County, N.Y., formerly a member of Congress from that State, through the Hon. Edward Everett, whose letter, dated 23d March, 1834, accompanied the document. The following is a copy:—

In the House of Commons on Wednesday 27th February, 1782,
The Right Honourable General CONWAY moved a Resolution, on which an Address to His MAJESTY was presented on FRIDAY 1st of MARCH, purporting,

"That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, most humbly to represent to His Majesty, that the further Prosecution of offensive War on the Continent of North America, for the Purpose of

reducing the revolted Colonies to Obedience by Force, will be the Means of weakening the Efforts of this Country against the European Enemies, tends, under the present Circumstances, dangerously to increase the mutual Enmity so fatal to the Interests both of Great-Britain and America, and, by preventing an happy Reconciliation with that Country, to frustrate the earnest Desire graciously expressed by His Majesty to restore the Blessings of Public Tranquillity."

On which, after a long Debate, the House divided,

FOR PEACE WITH AMERICA.

<i>Bedfordshire.</i>		<i>Cumberland.</i>	
Earl of Upper Ossory	County	Henry Fletcher	County
Hon. St. And. St. John	Ditto	Earl of Surrey	Carlisle
Sir Wm. Wake	Bedford	William Lowther	Ditto
		John Lowther	Cockermouth
		J. B. Garforth	Ditto
<i>Berks.</i>		<i>Derbyshire.</i>	
W. H. Hartley	County	Rt. Hon. Ld. Geo. Cavendish	County
John Elwes	Ditto	Edward Coke	Derby
Francis Annesley	Reading		
R. A. Neville	Ditto		
John Aubrey	Wallingford		
Chaloner Arcedeckne	Ditto		
Hon. J. Montagu	Windsor		
<i>Bucks.</i>		<i>Devonshire.</i>	
Earl Verney	County	John Parker	County
Hon. Thomas Grenville	Ditto	John Rolle	Ditto
James Grenville	Buckingham	Viscount Howe	Dartmouth
Hon. Wm. Grenville	Ditto	A. Holdsworth	Ditto
Viscount Mahon	Chipping Wycomb	Hump. Minchin	Okehampton
Gen. Smith	Wendover	R. Palk	Ashburton
J. M. Smith	Ditto	Sir George Yonge, Bart.	Honiton
Wm. Drake	Amersham	J. Wilkinson	Ditto
W. Drake, jun.	Ditto	Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick	Tavistock
		Sir Fred. Rogers	Plymouth
		J. Baring	Exeter
<i>Cambridgeshire.</i>		<i>Dorsetshire.</i>	
Hon. P. Yorke	County	Hump. Sturt	County
Hon. John Townshend	University	Thomas Scott	Bridport
Benjamin Keene	Cambridge	Richard Beckford	Ditto
J. W. Adeane	Ditto	Henry Banks	Corfe Castle
		H. W. Mortimer	Shaftesbury
		W. Morton Pitt	Poole
<i>Cheshire.</i>		<i>Durham.</i>	
S. R. Cotton	County	John Tempest	Durham C.
J. Crewe	Ditto	General Lambton	Ditto
R. W. Bootle	Chester		
<i>Cornwall.</i>		<i>Essex.</i>	
Sir Wm. Lemon, Bart	County	John Luther	County
Ed. Eliot	Ditto	Sir Robert Smith, Bart.	Colchester
Samuel Salt	Leskeard	Ch. Potter	Ditto
Hon. W. Tollemache	Ditto		
George Hunt	Bodmyn		
Sir John Ramsden, Bart.	Grampound		
Thomas Lucas	Ditto		
Edward J. Eliot	St. Germain's		
Dudley Long	Ditto		
		<i>Gloucestershire.</i>	
		Sir Wm. Guise, Bart.	County
		Sir Wm. Codrington, Bart.	Tewkesbury
		James Martin	Ditto
		Charles Barrow	Gloucester
		John Webb	Ditto

Herefordshire.

Sir George Cornwall, Bt.	County
John Scudamore	Hereford
R. F. Knight	Leominster

Hertfordshire.

William Plomer	County
Baron Dimsdale	Hertford
William Baker	Ditto
John Radcliffe	St. Alban's
Wm. C. Sloper	Ditto

Huntingdonshire.

Earl of Ludlow	County
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Kent

Hon. Charles Masham	County
Filmer Honywood	Ditto
Robert Gregory	Rochester
Sir Horace Mann	Maidstone
Clement Taylor	Ditto
Charles Robinson	Canterbury
George Gippes	Ditto

Lancashire.

Thomas Stanley	County
Wilson Braddyll	Launcester
General Burgoyne	Preston
Hon. H. Walpole	Wigan
Thomas Lister	Clithero
John Parker	Ditto

Leicestershire.

William Pochin	County
Hon. Booth Grey	Leicester

Lincolnshire.

Charles And. Pelham	County
Sir John Thorold, Bart.	Ditto
George Sutton	Grantham
John Harrison	Grimaby
Sir Thomas Clarges, Bart.	Lincoln

Middlesex.

John Wilkes	County
Hon. Charles J. Fox	Westminster
Fred. Bull	London
John Sawbridge	Ditto
Nath. Newnham	Ditto
Sir Watkin Lewes, Knt.	Ditto

Monmouthshire.

John Hanbury	County
John Morgan	Ditto

Norfolk.

Sir Edward Astley, Bart.	County
T. W. Coke	Ditto
Sir Harbord Harbord	Norwich
Hon. R. Walpole	Yarmouth
Richard Hopkins	Thetford
C. Molyneux	Lynn

Northamptonshire.

Thomas Powys	County
Lucy Knightley	Ditto

Richard Benyon	Peterborough
James Phipps	Ditto
Viscount Althorpe	Northampton
Frederic Montague	Higham Ferrers

Northumberland.

Sir Wm. Middleton, Bart.	County
Sir M. W. Ridley, Bart.	Newcastle

Nottinghamshire.

Charles Meadows	County
Robert Smith	Nottingham
Rt. Hon. Lord G. Sutton	Newark

Oxon.

Rt. Hon. Ld. Robert Spencer	Oxford C.
Hon. P. Bertie	Ditto

Salop.

Noel Hill	County
Richard Hill	Ditto
Sir Charleton Leighton, Bt.	Shrewsbury
Thomas Whitmore	Bridgenorth
Admiral Pigot	Ditto

Somersetshire.

Sir J. Trevelyan	County
Hon. J. J. Pratt	Bath
Clement Tudway	Wells
Robert Child	Ditto
R. Pennington	Milborne Port
F. F. Luttrell	Minehead

Hants.

Jer. C. Jervoise	County
Robert Thistlethwayte	Ditto
J. Fuller	Southampton
Edward Morant	Yarmouth
Sir J. G. Griffin	Andover
B. Lethulier	Ditto
Viscount Middleton	Whitchurch
Right Hon. T. Townshend	Ditto

Staffordshire.

Sir J. Wrottesley	County
Hon. E. Monckton	Stafford
R. B. Sheridan	Ditto
George Anson	Litchfield
T. Gilbert	Ditto

Suffolk.

Sir Charles Bunbury, Bart.	County
Sir John Rous, Bart.	Ditto
Thomas Staunton	Ipswich
Sir Gerrard Van Neck, Bart.	Dunwich
Sir Charles Davers, Bart.	Bury St. Edmunds
Rt. Hon. General Conway	Ditto

Surry.

Sir Joseph Mawbey, Bart.	County
Hon. A. Keppel	Ditto
Edward Norton	Haslemere
W. S. Stanhope	Ditto
Sir Robert Clayton, Bart.	Blechingley
Rt. Hon. Sir Fletcher Norton	Guildford
Sir Richard Hotham	Southwark
N. Polhill	Ditto

Survey.

Rt. Hon. Ld. George Lennox	County
Hon. T. Pelham	Ditto
Hon. Major Stanhope	Bramber
Sir H. Gough Bart.	Ditto
Sir Th. G. Skipwith, Bart.	Steyning
J. Peachey	Shoreham
Thomas Kemp	Lewes
Thomas Steele	Chichester
P. W. Baker	Arundel

Warwickshire.

Sir Geo. Shuckburgh, Bt.	County
Sir Robert Lawley, Bart.	Ditto
Sir Robert Ladbroke	Warwick

Westmoreland.

James Lowther	County
General Honeywood	Appleby
Hon. Wm. Pitt	Ditto

Wills.

Ch. Penruddock	County
William Hussey	Salisbury
Hon. Wm. Bouverie	Ditto
Henry Dawkins	Chippenham
John Dunning	Calne
Rt. Hon. Isaac Barre	Ditto
Thomas Pitt	Old Sarum
W. A. Court	Haytesbury
Samuel Estwick	Westbury
J. W. Gardiner	Ditto
Rt. Hon. Lord Herbert	Wilton

Worcestershire.

Hon. Edward Foley	County
Wm. Lygon	Ditto
Sir John Rushout	Evesham
C. W. B. Rous	Ditto
Hon. Andrew Foley	Droitwich
Edward Winnington	Ditto
T. Bates Rous	Worcester

Yorkshire.

Henry Duncombe	County
Sir Geo. Savile, Bart.	Ditto
Sir James Pennyman, Bt.	Beverley

Evelyn Anderson	Ditto
Viscount Duncannon	Knarborough
James Hare	Ditto
William Weddell	Malton
Edmund Burke	Ditto
Henry Pierse	Northallerton
William Nedham	Pontefract
Hon. George Fitzwilliam	Richmond
Marquis of Graham	Ditto
William Lawrence	Rippon
Earl Tyrconnel	Scarborough
Sir Thomas Gascoigne, Bt.	Thirsk
Beilby Thompson	Ditto
Lord John Cavendish	York
Charles Turner	Ditto
William Wilberforce	Hull

Cinque Ports.

John Trevannion	Dover
J. Nesbit	Winchelsea

Wales.

Viscount Bulkeley	Anglesea
Sir George Warren	Beaumaris
Ch. Morgan	Breconshire
J. Vaughan	Carmarthenshire
J. Parry	Carmarvonshire
Sir W. W. Wynne, Bart.	Denbighshire
Richard Middleton	Denbigh
Sir R. Mostyn	Flintshire
Watkin Williams	Flint
W. Mostyn Owen	Montgomeryshire
Ch. Edwin	Glamorganshire
E. L. Vaughan	Merionethshire

Scotland

Sir T. Dundass	Edinburghshire
J. H. Blair	Edinburgh
Sir Gilb. Elliot	Roxburghshire
J. S. Stuart	Renfrewshire
Earl of Fife	Bamfshire

George Byng	} Tellers	Ayes . .	234
Visc. Maitland			<u>2</u>
		Total Majority . .	286

FOR THE MINISTRY.

Bedfordshire.

S. Whitbread	Bedford
	<i>Berks.</i>
John Mayor	Abingdon
P. P. Powney	Windsor
	<i>Bucks.</i>
Ant. Bacon	Aylesbury — Contractor
Thomas Ord	Ditto
Robert Waller	Wycomb

Cambridgeshire.

James Mansfield	University
<i>Cheshire.</i>	
Tho. Grosvenor	Chester
<i>Cornwall.</i>	
Hon. George Percival	Launceston
Thomas Bowlby	Ditto
Visc. Malden	Lestwithiel
H. Rosewarne	Truro
Wm. Masterman	Bodmyn

Rt. Hon. Ch. Jenkinson Saltash
 Sir Grey Cooper Ditto
 John Buller Eastloo
 William Graves Ditto
 Sir Fr. Basset Penryn — Made a
 Baronet the other day, on account of his
 tin and copper, which he supplies Govern-
 ment with, by contract.

J. Rogers Ditto
 J. Macpherson Camelford
 J. Pardoe Ditto
 William Praed St. Ives
 Abel Smith Ditto
 Lord Shuldham Fowey
 P. Rashleigh Ditto
 Lord Hyde Helston
 Francis Hale Saint Michael's —
 Nephew to the Pay-Master General.
 John Morshead Callington
 George Stratton Ditto
 Sir Wm. James Westloo
 John Buller Tregony
 John Stephenson Ditto
 John Dawes

Derbyshire.

Hon. Nat. Curzon County — Son of
 Lord Scarsdale, chairman of committees
 in the H. of Lords.

Devonshire.

Charles Boone Ashburton
 Adm. Darby Ditto
 Viscount Fielding Beeralston — Son
 of Ld. Denbigh, Master of the King's
 Hounds, Lord of the Bedchamber, and
 just made Major of Dragoons.
 Lawrence Cox Ditto
 Sir R. Payne Plympton
 Hon. J. Stuart Ditto — Son of the
 E. of Bute
 L. Browne Totness — Son of
 his Majesty's Gardener.
 J. Cleveland Barnstable
 Fr. Basset Ditto
 Right Hon. Richard Rigby Tavistock

Dorsetshire.

William Ewer Dorchester
 Hon. Henry Fane Lime
 D. R. Mitchell Ditto
 Rt. Hon. Welbore Ellis Weymouth
 Gab. Stewart Ditto — Disposes
 of places in this borough to himself and
 friends, thro' the interest of his father
 Tucker, worth many thousands a year.
 Wm. R. Rumbold Ditto
 John Boyd Wareham
 Joseph Gulston Poole
 John Bond Corse Castle
 Sir Francis Sykes Shaftesbury

Durham.

Sir Thomas Clavering County

Essex.

T. B. Bramston County
 Hon. G. A. North Harwich

Gloucestershire.

Samuel Blackwell Cirencester
 James Whitshead Ditto } brought
 Lord Bathurst, President of the Council. in by

Hants.

Hen. Penton Winchester
 Lovel Stanhope Ditto
 Sir Wm. Gordon Portsmouth
 Hon. J. St. John Newport
 Sir Richard Worsley Ditto
 Sir Thomas Rumbold Yarmouth
 E. M. Worsley Newton
 Wm. Jolliffe Petersfield
 T. S. Jolliffe Ditto
 Hans Sloane Southampton
 Ed. Gibbon Lymington
 Hon. John Luttrell Stockbridge

Herefordshire.

Rt. Hon. T. Harley County — Contrac-
 torum Generalissimo.
 Sir Richard Symons Hereford
 Visc. Bateman Leominster
 St. Leger Douglas Weobly

Huntingdonshire.

Visc. Hinchinbroke County
 Sir Hugh Palliser Huntingdon
 Lord Mulgrave Ditto

Kent.

Sir C. Frederick Queensborough
 Sir Walter Rawlinson Ditto
 Geo. Finch Hatton Rochester

Lancashire.

Sir Tho. Egerton County — Col. of
 a Regiment worth 1000l. a year, which
 his Manchester constituents raised for
 him, and bribed him with, to vote against
 the Liberties and Welfare of his Country.
 He is also a great catch-singer, and friend
 of the immaculate Earl of Sandwich.
 Sir H. Houghton Preston — Favours
 from the Blue Ribbon. Dr. Finch, a Pre-
 bendary of Westm.

Ab. Rawlinson Lancaster
 B. Gascoyne, jun. Liverpool
 Hen. Rawlinson Ditto
 T. Davenport Newton

Leicestershire.

J. P. Hungerford County
 J. Darker Leicester

Lincolnshire.

Robert Vyner Lincoln — Said he
 would not cry out against paying towards
 the support of the American war, till
 land was taxed 14s. in the pound; and
 yet was the very first complainant of his
 sufferings occasioned by that very war,
 viz. in the article of wool. His nephew
 just made Preb. of Canterb.

Sir Geo. Howard Stamford
 Hen. Cecil Ditto

H. Sibthorpe	Boston
Francis Eyre	Grimsbay

Monmouthshire.

Sir John Stepney	Monmouth
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Norfolk.

Rt. Hon. Ch. Townshend	Yarmouth
J. C. Talbot	Castle Rising
Rob. Mackreth	Ditto

Northamptonshire.

Geo. Rodney	Northampton
J. W. Egerton	Brackley
T. Caswell	Ditto

Northumberland.

Anth. Storer	Morpeth
Peter Delme	Ditto
Hon. John Vaughan	Berwick
Sir J. H. Delaval	Ditto

Nottinghamshire.

D. P. Coke	Nottingham
Wharton Amcots	Retford

Oxfordshire.

Rt. Hon. Lord. Ch. Spencer	County
Visc. Parker	Woodstock
Rt. Hon. Lord North	Banbury — The Noble Lord in the Blue Ribbon himself, who assures the House daily, "he has gained nothing by his Place."

Is being Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury, nothing? Are the Cinque Ports, nothing? Are great Appointments for his Father, Wife, Brother, Sons, Brother-in-law, and Cousins to the third and fourth Generation, nothing? Besides Dependents of all kinds, from Sir Grey Cooper to Mr. Bate. Are not the Noble Lord's Emoluments, besides his patronage, 50,000l. a year at least?

Is not the Earl of Guilford Treasurer of the Queen's Household?

Is not Lady North Ranger of Bushy Park? Is not Brother Brownlow, Prelate of the Garter and Winchester?

Is not Son Geo. Sec. and Compt. of the Q. Household, Sec. of the Exchequer, and has he not a Regiment of Government Volunteers?

Is not Son Fred. Chamberlain of the Tally Court?

Is not Brother Willoughby in the King's Bedchamber?

Have not Cousin Bagots two Peerages in one year, a Bishoprick, Deanery, Collectorship of Middlesex, of itself 4000l. a year? &c. &c. &c.

Has not Cousin Dartmouth the Privy Seal? Cousin Harleys, the Bedchamber, Deanery of Windsor, and THE LOANS?

Legge's, Digby's, Burgoyne's innumerable Appointments of high Rank and Profit,

down to Whitshead Keene, and little Scarsdale, Chairman of Committees?

After all, "Is not the Noble Lord commendable instead of culpable, for providing for his relations?" Be it so! Let him not however insult the Distresses of his Country by pretending, "that a large *"Stock has not been fattened on the Public Pasture."*

Sir William Dolben	University
Francis Page	Ditto

Rutlandshire.

G. B. Brudenell	County
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Shropshire.

William Pulteney	Shrewsbury
Rt. Hon. Lord Clive	Ludlow
Fred. Cornwall	Ditto
Wm. Clive	Bishops Castle
Hen. Strachey	Ditto

Somersetshire.

John Townson Milbourn Port — Salt-petre itself. For this business the Directors of the E. India Company meet on Friday, to pass judgment on his conduct.

Hon. A. Poulett	Bridgewater
Mat. Brickdale	Bristol
Geo. Daubeny	Ditto
S. Smith	Ditto
A. Moysey	Bath

Staffordshire.

Viscount Lewisham	County — Son of
Ld. Dartmouth,	Privy Seal, and Coz. to
	the Premier.
Arch. Macdonald	Newcastle
John Courtney	Tamworth
John Calvert	Ditto

Suffolk.

Barne Barne	Dunwich
Sir James Marriot	Sudbury
Viscount Beauchamp	Orford
Hon. Rob. Conway	Ditto
F. C. Crespiigny	Aldborough
General Phillipson	Eye
A. J. Skelton	Ditto

Surrey.

George Onslow	Guildford
Rt. Hon. Lord Newhaven	Gatton
Robert Mayne	Ditto
John Kenrick	Blechingley

Sussex.

Thomas Fitzherbert	Arundel
Sir Cecil Bisshopp	Shoreham
Sir Sampson Gideon	Ditto
Henry Drummond	Midhurst — Contractor, and one of the Quadruple in the Loan
Sir J. Irwin	East-Grinstead
— Herbert	Ditto
J. Wallace	Horsham
Sir George Osborne	Ditto

<i>Warwickshire.</i>		Hugh Owen	Pembroke
Hon. Ch. Greville	Warwick	Thomas Johnes	Radnorshire
Lord Sheffield	Coventry — Besides the title, has the rank of Lieut. Col. Commandant, with a Reg. of Dragoons, worth 1200l. a year, which his subaltern Officers, whose Heads he was put over, it is said paid for raising.	E. Lewis	New Radnor
Edward Roe Yeo	Ditto	<i>Cinque Ports.</i>	
<i>Wills.</i>		Sir Ch. Farnaby	Hythe
Sir J. T. Long	Devizes	Viscount Palmerston	Hastings
Hen. Jones	Ditto	John Ord	Ditto
Lord Courtown	Marlborough	Philip Stephens	Sandwich
F. Burton	Heytesbury	Sir Richard Sutton	Ditto
Viscount Fairford	Malsbury — Son of the Earl of Hillsborough, Secretary of State, is said to give it as his opinion, that next to his Father, he looks upon Bamber Gascoigne to be the greatest politician in Europe.	Sir Edward Deering	New Romney
J. Calvert	Ditto	Richard Jackson	Ditto
N. W. Wraxall	Hindon	William Dickenson	Rye
Hon. Gen. St. John	Wotton-Basset	Hon. Thomas Onslow	Ditto
William Strahan	Ditto	John Durand	Seaford
George Selwyn	Luggershall	Sir J. Henniker	Dover
Robert Shaftoe	Downton	<i>Scotland.</i>	
Hon. H. S. Conway	Ditto	Adam Drummond	Aberdeen, &c.
<i>Worcestershire.</i>		Sir Adam Fergusson	Airshire
Rt. Hon. Lord Westcote	Bewdley	Sir J. Anstruther	Anstruther Weston
Hon. W. Ward	Worcester	Lord Fred. Campbell	Argyleshire
<i>Yorkshire.</i>		J. Campbell	Culross
Ch. Mellish	Aldborough	Sir Robert Laurie	Dumfriesshire
William Chaytor	Under Heydon	Sir Robert Herries	Dumfries, &c.
Edwin Lascelles	Northallerton	Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas	Edinburghshire
Ch. Atkinson	Heydon — The celebrated Cornfactor.	Rt. Hon. Lord W. Gordon	Elginshire
Hon. J. Phipps	Scarborough	Robert Skene	Fifeshire
Hon. Fred. Robinson	Rippon	Sir Arch Edmonston	Irvine, &c.
<i>Wales.</i>		Rt. Hon. Lord A. Gordon	Kincardineshire
Sir Ch. Gould	Brecon	George Graham	Kinrossshire
Earl of Lisburne	Cardiganshire	States L. Morris	Kintore
John Campbell	Cardigan	— Johnston	Kircudbright
Glynn Wynn	Caernarvon	J. Henderson	Kirkaldy
Lord Kensington	Haverfordwest	Andrew Stuart	Lanerkshire
Whitshed Keene	Montgomery	Francis Charteris	Lauder, &c.
		Sir W. Aug. Cunningham	Linlithgowshire
		A. Murray	Peebleshire
		John Pringle	Selkirkshire
		Sir James Cockburn	Selkirk, &c.
		William Adam	Wigton, &c.
		Hon. Keith Stewart	Wigtonshire
		Charles Ross	Wick, &c.
		Hon. J. Wemyss	Sutherlandshire
		Ministry . . . 215	
		John Robinson	} Tellers 2
		Mr. Adam	
		Total Minority . . . 217	

ABSENTEES.

(f) Ackland John	Bridgewater	Bertie Lord Robert	Boston
Ambler Ch.	Boroughbridge	Boscawen Hugh	St. Maw's
Bacon Ed.	Norwich	(f) Blake Sir P.	Sudbury
Barwell Rich.	Helston	(f) Bowes A. R.	Newcastle
(f) Bamfylde Sir Ch.	Exeter	(f) Bridgman Sir H.	Wenlock
(f) Barrington John	Newton	(f) Bridgman H. S.	Wigan
Baynton And.	Weobly	Burrell Sir Merrick	Bedwin
Benfield Paul	Cricklade	Burrard H.	Lymington
(f) Bentinck Lord Ed.	Nottinghamshire	(f) Bullock John	Steyning

(f) Cavendish Lord G. H.	Derby	Leigh T. P.	Newton
Coghill Sir John	Newport	Lincoln Earl of	Retford
Clayton Wm.	Marlow	(f) Lowther Sir James	Cumberland
(f) Clerke Sir P. J.	Totness	Luttrell Hon. H. L.	Bossiney
Clinton Sir Henry	Newark	Luttrell H. F.	Minehead
Coxe Sir Ch.	Ryegate	Luttrell Hon. James	Stockbridge
(f) Coxe R. H.	Somersetshire	Mackworth Sir Herbert	Cardiff
Crawford J.	Dumbarton	(f) Manners Ld. Robert	Cambridgeshire
Cust F. C.	Grantham	Manners Ld. Robert	Hull
Cust P.	Ilchester	Macleod Lord	Rossshire
Damer Hon. Geo.	Dorchester	Melburn Lord	Luggershall
(f) Dempster George	Cuper	(f) Methuen P.	Bedwin
Duntze Sir J.	Tiverton	Monro Sir Hector	Inverness, &c.
(f) Dundas Charles	Orkney	Monckton Hon. Gen.	Portsmouth
(f) Dutton James	Gloucestershire	Murray Hon. J.	Perthshire
D'Oyley Chr.	Seaford	(f) Noel Thomas	Rutlandshire
Dalrymple H.	Haddingtonshire	Nugent Earl	St. Michael's
Eden Sir John	Durham	Owen Hugh	Pembrokeshire
Eden Rt. Hon. William	Woodstock	(f) Pelham Hon. Hen.	Lewes
Elphinston Hon. G. K.	Dumbartonshire	Percy Lord Alg.	Northumberland
Evelyn W.	Hythe	Pitt Hon. George	Dorsetshire
Eyre Ant.	Boroughbridge	Phillips George	Caernarthen
(f) Farrer T.	Wareham	Furling John	Weymouth
(f) Fleming Sir Michael	Westmoreland	Roberts John	Taunton
(f) Forrester George	Wenlock	Rodney Sir George Brydges	Westminster
(f) Fludyer Sir Sam.	Aldborough	(f) Ross Gen.	Cromartyshire
Fonnereau M.	Aldborough	Scott H.	Berwickshire
Frederic John	Christ Church	Sinclair J.	Caithnessshire
Gascoigne Bamber	Truro	Strutt John	Malden
Garden Alex.	Aberdeenshire	(f) Scudamore Ch. Fitzroy	Thetford
(f) Galway Viscount	Pomfret	Stuart Hon. Charles	Bossiney
(f) Goddard Ambrose	Wilts	Trentham Visc.	Newcastle
Halliday John	Taunton	Vernon Richard	Okehampton
Hamilton Rt. Hon. W. G.	Wilton	Warren Sir J.	Marlow
(f) Halsey T.	Herts	(f) Walpole Hon. Thomas	Lynn
Hervey Eliab	Malden	(f) Wenman Viscount	Oxfordshire
Hanger Hon. Wm.	Christ Church	(f) Wilkinson P.	Old Sarum
Harris Sir James	Chippenham	Wilmot John E.	Tiverton
Hudson Giles	St. Michaels	Wollaston William	Ipawich
Johnston George	Lestwithel	Woodley Wm.	Marlborough
(f) Keppel Hon. William	Chichester	Yorke Hon. J.	Ryegate

Friends to their Country, and for Peace with America marked (f) — Absent 84
Total Majority 236

270

Besides several independent and very respectable Members who voted in the Minority on this occasion — such as Mr. Parker Coke, Mr. Rawlinson, Mr. Rashley, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Darker, &c. &c.

Ayes 236
Noes 217
Absentees 101
Vacant Seats 8
Speaker 1
Total Number of the whole House 558

N. B. The absent Gentlemen marked (f), with many others less known to the Publisher, are distinguished Friends of their Country; and if they had been present, it is supposed would have voted with the Majority

on this Question, making in all upwards of Two Hundred and Seventy Members, in Opposition to, and against the utmost Efforts of the Minister; who, besides Mr. Secretary Robinson's *endearing Lures*, certainly exerted all his Abilities, Zeal, and Assurances on this Occasion. "*How are the Mighty fallen!*"—It is worth observing also, there were, with the Minister, only *Eleven* against *Sixty-Four* County Members in England and Wales who voted for this Question. — For the **ADDENDA** of Places, Pensions, Contracts, &c. see a small Pamphlet just published by J. Stockdale, entitled, "Substance of the Charges of Mismanagement on the Naval Enquiry, &c."

Attendance is only wanting, to complete the Downfal of an Administration which every Day brings some fresh Calamity home to the Breast of every Man among us. — The single Question now is, Whether the Premier and his Dependents shall retain their Places, to the final Ruin of the Empire; or by a Change of Men and Measures, we shall regain the Confidence of America, and retain our Properties and Importance.

Printed for J. STOCKDALE, opposite BURLINGTON-HOUSE, PICCADILLY. [Price Two-pence, or Twelve Shillings a Hundred.]

William V. Wells, Esq., of San Francisco, was elected a Corresponding Member.

JUNE MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, June 14, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The President announced to the Society, that the Recording Secretary, Charles Deane, Esq., sailed for Europe on the 6th instant, to be absent for several

months, and that the Standing Committee had requested the Treasurer to perform the duties of Secretary until Mr. Deane should return; whereupon it was unanimously —

Voted, That the Treasurer be requested to act as the Recording Secretary of the Society, during the absence of Mr. Deane.

At the request of the President, the records of the May meeting were read by Dr. ROBBINS.

The Librarian announced donations from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; the American Numismatic and Archæological Society; the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York; the Essex Institute; the Long-Island Bible Society; the Mercantile Library Association of New York; the New-England Loyal Publication Society; Oberlausitzische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Görlitz; John Appleton, M.D.; Francis H. Brown, M.D.; Henry G. Denny, Esq.; Frederic De Peyster, Esq.; Clement H. Hill, Esq.; Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq.; Messrs. Leypoldt & Holt; Rev. Howard Malcom, D.D.; Hon. Alexander H. Rice; William H. Russell, Esq.; M. B. Scott, Esq.; Philip H. Sears, Esq.; Henry R. Stiles, M.D.; J. Hammond Trumbull, Esq.; Hon. Henry Wilson; Mrs. Joseph E. Worcester; and from Messrs. Amory, Bartlet, Brigham, Deane, Green, Loring, Metcalf, C. Robbins, Savage, Ticknor, Washburn, Webb, Wheatland, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President remarked, that our Recording Secretary, whose absence had just been alluded to, had left behind him new evidence of his devotion to our service,

in a new volume of Proceedings, which is on our table this morning, and of which every member is entitled to a copy; whereupon it was —

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the Recording Secretary, Mr. Deane, and to his associates of the Publishing Committee, Messrs. Folsom and Green, for their faithful services in conducting this volume through the press.

The President further stated, that Mr. Deane was accompanied by our associate, Dr. Peabody; and it had been suggested, that we should unite them in a commission to represent this Society on any fit occasion, and to negotiate any exchanges or purchases for us which they may think for our advantage. They expect to be present at the proposed Archæological Congress at Antwerp, at which they are already commissioned to represent the American Antiquarian Society, and at which they might find it expedient to appear in behalf of this Society also. It was thereupon —

Voted, That the Recording Secretary, Charles Deane, Esq., and the Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, D.D., be authorized and requested to represent this Society at the Archæological Congress to be held at Antwerp in August next, or on any other fitting occasion that may occur during their absence abroad; and that they be empowered and requested to negotiate for this Society any exchanges of publications with foreign societies, and to act for our interest in any way they shall find expedient during their absence.

The President read the following note from our Corresponding Member, S. Austin Allibone, LL.D.: —

PHILADELPHIA, May 30, 1866.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am happy to inform you, that the Dictionary which I projected in 1850, and commenced preparing for the press in 1853 (August), was completed last night at 8.27. *Laus Deo.*

I am, dear Sir, with great regard, faithfully yours,

S. AUSTIN ALLIBONE.

The President remarked, that he was sure that the information would be received with pleasure, that Dr. Allibone's most valuable "Dictionary of English Literature" had thus been brought to a completion. The first volume had been found so important and interesting, that we were impatient for the second; and he trusted the publishers would not hold it back from us many months.

The President announced the death of our Honorary Member, General Winfield Scott, and spoke as follows:—

You can hardly have forgotten, Gentlemen, that, a few years since, the name of Winfield Scott was placed by acclamation on our Honorary roll. It was the first time, I believe, that this Society had ever dispensed with the formalities of a ballot and the delay of a previous nomination. The veteran soldier had just then voluntarily withdrawn from the active duties of Commander-in-chief of the Army of the United States; and a career of public service, which, for more than half a century, had been crowded with conspicuous acts of courage and patriotism, was at length brought to a close. That career is familiar to us all. Its brilliant opening scenes at Queenstown, at Fort George, at Chippewa, and at Lundy's Lane,—though but few are now left to recall the impression they produced upon the living heart,—can never be contemplated on the page of history without a fresh thrill of admiration. Nor can any one withhold at least an equal tribute of

admiration from those crowning exploits of his maturer military life, which resulted in the occupation of Mexico.

Yet, signal as the services of General Scott have been as a soldier, his civil services and civil triumphs have been no less signal. Again and again he has been entrusted with diplomatic functions of the most important and delicate character; and he has uniformly discharged them in a manner to command the approbation of the Government and the applause of the whole people. Twice at least—once on the North-eastern boundary in 1839, and once on the North-west in 1859—he has saved the peace of the country, when it was in the most imminent peril. Nor is it foreign war only which has been averted by his wise and efficient intervention. To him certainly, as much as to any other one man, it was owing, that the Nullification plot of 1832 was prevented from ripening into outright rebellion, and that the great battle of the Union was postponed to a later generation. Meantime his prudence and his humanity had found still another field for their display, in the memorable removal of the Indian tribes beyond the Mississippi.

No more eloquent or more enviable tribute has ever been won by a military chief, than that which was paid to General Scott, in this connection, by the late William Ellery Channing:—

“To this distinguished man,” said he, in a lecture on war, in 1839, “belongs the rare honor of uniting, with military energy and daring, the spirit of a philanthropist. His exploits in the field, which placed him in the first rank of our soldiers, have been obscured by the purer and more lasting glory of a pacificator and a friend of mankind. In the whole history of the intercourse of civilized with barbarous or half-civilized communities, we doubt whether a brighter page can be found than that which records his agency in the removal of the Cherokees. As far as the wrongs done to this race can be atoned for, General Scott has made the expiation. In his recent mission to the disturbed borders of our country, he has succeeded, not so much by

policy as by the nobleness and generosity of his character, by moral influences, by the earnest conviction with which he has enforced on all with whom he has had to do, the obligations of patriotism, justice, humanity, and religion. It would not be easy to find among us a man who has won a purer fame; and I am happy to offer this tribute, because I would do something, no matter how little, to hasten the time when the spirit of Christian humanity shall be accounted an essential attribute and the brightest ornament of a public man.

"He returns to Washington," continued Dr. Channing, "and is immediately ordered to the Cherokee nation, to take charge of the very difficult and hazardous task, to his own fame, of removing those savages from their native land. Some of his best friends regretted, most sincerely, that he had been ordered on this service; and, knowing the disposition of the world to cavil and complain without cause, had great apprehensions that he would lose a portion of the popularity he had acquired by his distinguished success on the Canadian frontier. But behold the manner in which this last work has been performed! There is so much of noble generosity of character about Scott, independent of his skill and bravery as a soldier, that his life has really been one of romantic beauty and interest."

One can hardly read this exquisite eulogy, — coming, as it does, from the lips of one who would be everywhere accepted as an umpire without appeal upon any question of humanity or philanthropy, — without recalling the lines which Addison, a century and a half before, had composed in honor of the great Duke of Marlborough, and which we all could wish had been as well deserved by him as by our own departed hero: —

"Unbounded courage and compassion joined,
Tempering each other in the victor's mind,
Alternately proclaim him good and great,
And make the hero and the man complete."

The opening of the great civil war through which we have just passed found General Scott broken in health and strength, and weighed down by the infirmities of age. He was still, however, at the head of the American army; and, though a Virginian by birth, and warmly attached to

his Southern relatives and friends, he never faltered for an instant in his devoted loyalty to the Union. Nor can it ever be doubted or forgotten, that, through his prudence and patriotism, and his untiring vigilance and energy, the safety of the Capital was assured, and the inauguration of President Lincoln secured from interruption.

Retiring from the active duties of commander-in-chief in October, 1861, General Scott has been by no means idle during the four years and a half which have since elapsed. Two volumes of Autobiography, which—though they exhibit not a few of the least attractive elements of his character, and could hardly be cited to prove, that, as Dryden says of another in his "*Annus Mirabilis*," he was "born, Cæsar-like, to write and act great deeds"—are yet replete with interesting and instructive passages of national and of personal history, have been composed and published by him during this period; while his counsel and experience have been constantly at the service of the Government, and have more than once been called for under most impressive circumstances. The personal visit of President Lincoln to West Point, to consult the retired commander-in-chief, at the most critical moment of the war, is still fresh in all our memories; and no higher testimony could have been given of the exalted estimation in which he was held by those who were officially responsible for the preservation of the Union.

General Scott was by no means free from the foibles which proverbially belong to the heroic temperament. His words were not always as wise and well-considered as his acts, nor his reasons as sound and sagacious as his conclusions. But, in a long life of varied and unintermitted service, he never failed to do the right thing at the right time, and to do it with a will and to a purpose. His noble form and commanding presence will be remembered by all who have ever seen him; and I cannot doubt that the verdict of posterity will confirm the judgment of the present hour, that, morally as

well as physically, few grander figures have adorned the history of our country. Had he lived until yesterday, he would have completed his eightieth year, having been born near Petersburg, Virginia, on the 13th of June, 1786. It was my good fortune to see him and converse with him at New York as lately as the 9th of May, the day before he embarked for West Point, to die amid the scenes which had been most dear to him in life, and which he most desired should be the last on which his eyes should look. And though the infirmities of age had bowed and bent that lion-like frame, and quenched something of the fire of that eagle eye, his heart was still full of patriotic wishes for his beloved country; and his only impatience seemed to be, that he could render her no further service. I cannot forget, in this presence, the kind and eager inquiries he made then, and on many previous occasions, for the health of an esteemed fellow-soldier of his youth, whom we are proud to recognize as the first Vice-President of our own Society. Nor can I conclude this imperfect tribute to his memory, without reading, as I am sure you will all pardon me for doing, the letter in which, some years previously, he had acknowledged the receipt of the volume of our Proceedings, which I had sent him, containing an account of his election as one of our Honorary Members, on the 14th of November, 1861:—

ELIZABETH, N.J., April 22, 1862.

MY DEAR FRIEND,— But that I hold a pen with difficulty (from a hurt in the right hand), I should have made a formal acknowledgment of the honor conferred upon me by the Historical Society of Massachusetts,— a compliment the more pleasing, having been moved by one dear friend (R. C. W.), the President, seconded by another, my excellent brother soldier (Colonel A.), and unanimously adopted (though out of order) by the meeting. The record of the flattering transaction found in the recent volume of the Society,— “Proceedings from 1860–1862,”— which you have just kindly sent to me, gives to the book a priceless value in the estimation of myself and children.

Joining in all your patriotic wishes and prayers, I remain, ever
truly yours,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

Hon. R. C. WINTHROP, &c. &c. &c.

Addressed (free) WINFIELD SCOTT, *Lieutenant-General, &c.*

To Hon. R. C. WINTHROP, &c. &c. &c.

Boston.

The President then read the following Resolution
from the Standing Committee:—

Resolved, That the death of Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott—
whose name was inscribed on our Honorary roll by acclamation, on
his retirement from active duty as Commander-in-chief of the Army
of the United States in November, 1861—calls for a renewed expres-
sion of our respect and gratitude for a great historical career, which
has been associated, for more than half a century, with the highest
public services to our country both in war and in peace, and which
presents an example of gallantry and patriotism and Christian human-
ity worthy of being cherished and commemorated by all who have
witnessed it, and of being commended to the admiration and imitation
of future generations.

Colonel ASPINWALL then spoke as follows:—

MR. PRESIDENT,— With the most anxious desire to do honor
to the memory of our deceased associate, Winfield Scott, I
feel entirely incompetent, at the present moment, to do just-
ice to his great merits. Each incident of his eventful and
conspicuous career has so often been the theme and the at-
traction of the day, that little now remains to be said which
is not already familiar to the world, both as regards his his-
tory and his character.

At the time, fifty-four years ago, when my acquaintance
and the life-long friendship with which he honored me be-
gan, he was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second Regiment of
the United-States Artillery, and I was Major of the Ninth
Infantry. Except in the descent of the St. Lawrence, in the
autumn of 1813, we never served together; but it was my
good fortune to see much of him at times, and especially in

winter quarters during the war, and in many places, after the war, both at home and in Europe.

The whole tenor and circumstances of his military services in the war of 1812 were of course well known to myself, as to all his brother-officers. His enterprise and love of adventure, his energy and intrepidity, were displayed on various occasions: of which I will only mention the attack of the 8th of October, 1812, on the British vessels in the Niagara; the night surprise of Fort Matilda, on the St. Lawrence, on the 7th of November, 1813; and his well-concerted attack, four days after, of Colonel Dennis's post, near Cornwall, which ended in the defeat and utter dispersion of the enemy.

Apart from his gallant deeds, one of his early services, and at the time perhaps the most important that could be rendered to the nation, was his assiduous and thorough instruction of the troops in discipline, exercise, and field movements. It was owing to this preparation that he was able afterwards, at Lundy's Lane and Chippewa, to put an end to the dream of British invincibility on land, in which our adversaries had before indulged, and to convince them that our soldiers were, as they at length confessed, as good as their own.

Up to the termination of the war, Scott's ardent love of victory never allowed him to dwell on the blood and life it cost. But, at a later period, a change came over him, that made him shrink from all unnecessary sacrifice or even exposure of his men. His personal attendance on his sick soldiers during the Black-Hawk expedition was but a natural consequence of this philanthropic change.

In January, 1836, a few weeks after the surprise and massacre of Major Dade's party, Scott was ordered to Florida. Delays occurred in furnishing him with men and military supplies. His plan of joint action, by an advance from all points upon the Creeks, with the moral certainty of surrounding and capturing the whole hostile force, was defeated by a

premature and unauthorized attack by General Jessup, his second in command, which had no other effect than to disperse them for the moment. General Jessup also wrote to the editor of the official newspaper at Washington, blaming Scott for dilatoriness and want of energy. Scott was consequently recalled by the President and replaced by Jessup, virtually because he had not, in less than thirty days of military operations, put an end to a war which a series of his successors in command failed to accomplish in the following six years. One of the most irrefragable proofs of the extreme impolicy as well as injustice of condemning, unheard, a military commander serving in a distant field, is furnished by the fact, that Scott's second in command, who had supplanted him, retracted his injurious aspersions; and the court of inquiry, called to decide upon the merits of the case, unanimously approved of Scott's "plans, as well devised, as prosecuted with energy, steadiness, and ability, and well calculated to lead to successful results."

It was one of the characteristic qualities of Scott, that, whatever task might be assigned him, however difficult, embarrassing, or foreign to the ordinary course of military duty, he promptly applied himself to it, cheerfully and vigorously; and whatever he undertook he accomplished with signal ability. It is quite sufficient here to recall to mind the complete success that attended his five-months' arduous and difficult superintendence and conduct of the compulsory removal of fifteen thousand Cherokees to their destined abode in the West, and the skilful measures he adopted to preserve peace, both at the period of the Canadian rebellion, and, subsequently, when the Aroostook disturbances had brought the country to the verge of war.

It was said at the time, that "his exploits in the field . . . were obscured by the purer and more lasting glory of a pacificator and of a friend of mankind. In the whole history of the intercourse of civilized with barbarous or half-civilized

communities, we doubt," said the eminent philanthropist and divine, the Rev. Dr. Channing, "whether a brighter page can be found than that which records his agency in the removal of the Cherokees." The remark of the same distinguished person respecting Scott's first "mission to the disturbed borders of our country," is equally true of his subsequent mission of a kindred nature. "He succeeded, not so much by policy, as by the nobleness and generosity of his character, by moral influences, by the earnest conviction with which he enforced on all with whom he had to do, the obligations of patriotism, justice, humanity, and religion."

General Scott's management of the war in Mexico was at the time applauded, as eminently sagacious, bold, and skilful, by the ablest generals in Europe. They considered it one of the military miracles of the age, that, with an inconsiderable force, in the face of superior numbers protected by numerous fortifications, road batteries, &c., and not less so in most positions by the difficult nature of the country itself, that he should succeed in forcing his way by a single road from the coast to the capital of Mexico.

His plan of landing his troops with the purpose of investing Vera Cruz, instead of making a direct attack upon the fortress of San Juan, which forms the seaward defence of that city, is a proof of his prudence and foresight, as well as of his patriotic and humane desire to avoid all unnecessary sacrifices of his men. Had he taken both city and fortress by storm, with the loss of three or four thousand soldiers, or, in the camp phrase, "taken the bull by the horns, and brought in a large butcher's bill," the million would no doubt have hailed the achievement with more rapturous applause. But, furnished as he was with only half the troops he had asked for, his very success would have deprived him of the means of advancing upon the capital. He would have been obliged to await re-enforcements, while his diminished force would have been wasting away in the sickly season in

the *tierra caliente*. The wisdom of his determination was shown by the result. In twenty days from the landing of the troops, with a loss of only sixty men and officers, he became master of the city of Vera Cruz, doubly important as a commercial emporium and as a military depot and base of operations, and of the castle of San Juan, with four hundred pieces of ordnance and five thousand prisoners of war.

Throughout the Mexican war, Scott was sparingly furnished with troops. The Secretary of War, having refused those offered by the governors of States, and being reluctant to countenance a change of policy, suffered a bill for raising ten additional regiments to linger on its way through Congress, much to the detriment of the public service. Scott was crippled in his movements. For nearly four months, he was stopped at Puebla for want of men; and, when re-enforcements came, they were inadequate. The onward march could not be resumed without calling in the garrisons in the rear, and abandoning all established communications with Vera Cruz. Even when at last master of the capital, he could not extend his conquest further, because he had only troops sufficient for the maintenance of his actual position. It ought to be known and remembered, that the Duke of Wellington, when he learned that the communication with the coast was abandoned, exclaimed, "*Scott is lost!*"

Among the causes which led to the culpable improvidence of the Administration, was the unfortunate prepossession that prevailed in the Cabinet at Washington, and among its influential advisers, in favor of an advance on the capital from the Rio Grande, by way of Monterey and San Luis Potosi, — a route totally impracticable, where a small army would have been overwhelmed, and a large one would perish. To favor this visionary project, numbers indispensable to Scott and for the subjugation of Mexico were diverted to swell the command of his junior, General Taylor, where, its true position being that of defence, they were superfluous and useless. It

was at one time proposed to send twenty-five thousand men to Taylor and only fifteen thousand to Scott, to enable him, as was said, "to run up the road from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico." Even after the unwise project of the advance from the Rio Grande was abandoned, the authorities at Washington did not see fit to remedy the evil; for Taylor, when occupying a defensive line, with no formidable force opposed to him, had more men than Scott at Puebla when surrounded by a Mexican army three times larger than his own.

Of the inimical motives which led to this injustice, and of the attempt to supersede and to dishonor him, either by placing him under a junior officer or by the new appointment of a superior; of his final recall, with the contumelious reversal of his arrest of insubordinate officers, and the threat of a court-martial,—I shall say, that, to use his own words, "his services, with a most gallant army, were requited as he had long been led to expect they would be;" that the threatened court-martial came to nothing; and that Congress voted him their thanks and a gold medal as a testimony of their high sense of his valor, skill, and judicious conduct in the memorable campaign of 1847.

In the Presidential canvass of 1860, while secession was only threatened, but not generally expected, Scott, with a political sagacity equal to his military skill, foresaw the coming peril, and labored hard to provide in time against it. The two last months of 1860 were passed by him in anxious and earnest endeavors to obtain Executive authority for immediately re-enforcing the occupied forts on the Southern coast, and for placing proper garrisons in such as were unoccupied. It is one of the most signal misfortunes that have ever befallen our country, that this wise counsel was not instantly followed. But President Buchanan could neither give his confidence to the patriotic veteran whom he had, in previous years, decried as a political foe, nor withdraw it from his comparatively ignoble associate, the Secretary of War, whose

treachery he had yet to learn. In exultation that the efforts of Scott had been defeated by the machinations of Floyd, the rebels subsequently did Scott more justice than he received at the hands of the President. They acknowledged that "the plan invented by General Scott to stop secession was, like all campaigns devised by him, very able in its details, and nearly certain of general success;" and that, "had Scott been able to get these forts in the condition he desired them to be, the Southern Confederacy would not then exist."

The incoming Administration was, for some weeks, as supine and inert as the preceding. The President, Lincoln, could not be persuaded of the magnitude nor of the imminence of the approaching danger. Scott's counsels were unheeded. Sherman's earnest asseverations, that the South was bent on secession and war, were treated as the ravings of insanity. The truth and value of these slighted warnings were verified by the attack on Fort Sumter on the 12th of April, 1861.

As early as the 3d of March, Scott had recommended, that, whenever secession was to be put down by force, an army of three hundred thousand at least should be brought into and kept up in the field. But, unfortunately, Congress had not been called together; and only seventy thousand militia were called into temporary service. In blind impatience, the available portion of this levy was hurried into conflict at Bull Run with a rebel force, which, if not more numerous and better disciplined, was very ably commanded, and had the advantage of being posted in a strong country and a position of its own selection. The result, as had been apprehended by military men, was unfortunate. An attempt to shift off the responsibility, for this injudicious movement, upon General Scott, was indignantly repelled by him.

This was the sad prelude to that sinister interference with military operations in the field, afterwards systematically

carried on by politicians and civilians ignorant of the art of war, but occupying posts of Federal or State authority, which shed its baneful influence on the fortune of our arms; and which, especially throughout the year 1862, impeded and embarrassed the operations of the Army of the Potomac, as effectually as if the head of the War Department had been pledged to second the efforts of the rebels and to compass the defeat of our own army, as well as the disgrace and displacement of its accomplished, patriotic, and able commander.

We need only refer to the vain attempts to attack Richmond by a direct overland advance, in defiant contempt of all military rules and of the opinions of the best strategists of our army. Pope, Burnside, and Hooker were successively ordered to carry out this impracticable project; and each attempt effected nothing but an appalling waste of human blood and life. Grant, in obeying the orders of the Administration, yielded his own preference for the coast route; but at last, after a loss, of which the lowest estimate is sixty thousand killed and wounded, finding Richmond as far from his grasp as on the first day of his march, he was constrained to abandon the abortive plan of the Administration, and to follow the rational plan and the footsteps of his discarded predecessor, who would probably have finished the war two years before, with the saving of hundreds of thousands killed and wounded, if he had been honestly afforded "the confidence and cordial support" which President Lincoln, in his message of the 3d of December, 1861, had promised him, and "without which," as the President rightly said, "he could not with so full efficiency serve the country." In this message the opinion of General Scott is mentioned as having been repeatedly expressed in favor of his successor in the post of general-in-chief.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The President announced the death of Bishop Burgess, of Maine, a Corresponding Member of the Society, in the following language : —

We may not forget, Gentlemen, that, while the name of a great soldier has been taken from our Honorary roll since our last meeting, the name of an eminent and excellent prelate has been taken from the list of our Corresponding Members. I refer to the Right Rev. George Burgess, Bishop of Maine. Though I had but a slight personal acquaintance with him, I am not unaware of the exalted estimation in which he was held by the diocese over which he presided, and by the whole community in which he lived. As the author of several historical works, and as the Vice-President of the Historical Society of Maine, he is entitled to our most respectful notice ; and I am glad to know that one of our number is prepared to do justice to his memory on this occasion.

Mr. BARTLET then paid a feeling tribute to the exalted character of Bishop Burgess, and concluded by offering the following resolution : —

Resolved, That in the death of Bishop Burgess the department of historical research has lost an intelligent friend and successful student ; American literature, one of its ornaments ; morals and religion, a devoted teacher and bright example ; and the country, a citizen, who, in his past efforts and sacrifices in her behalf, gave the assurance that the peculiar advantages he enjoyed would be faithfully employed for her highest good.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The President communicated a miniature of Daniel Webster, presented to the Society by Mrs. Isaac P. Davis. The original was painted by R. M. Staigg, at Washington, in 1844 ; and, two years afterwards, he made this copy, which belonged to our late Cabinet-keeper, Isaac P. Davis, Esq. The President remarked

that this was an exceedingly valuable addition to our Cabinet; for it was one of the last miniatures executed by this distinguished artist, and one of his best efforts.

The President also communicated two daguerrotype miniatures, one of General Washington, and one of Mrs. Washington, presented by Mrs. Davis, with the original of the following memorandum: "The daguerrotypes of General and Mrs. Washington, executed by John Srubb of Alexandria, are from original pictures at Arlington House, by Sharpless, in 1796, and by Robinson in 1790. The portrait of the chief, by Sharpless, is an admirable likeness, and was the last original ever taken. The portrait of Mrs. Washington is pronounced by artists to be the most exquisite miniature ever seen in the United States. — Signed, George W. P. Custis. Arlington House, March the 25th, 1828."

It was unanimously *Resolved*, That the grateful acknowledgments of the Massachusetts Historical Society be returned to the venerable widow of our late esteemed and respected associate, Isaac P. Davis, for the beautiful miniature of Daniel Webster by Staigg, and for the interesting daguerrotypes of the miniatures of General Washington and Mrs. Washington, which she has kindly added to our Cabinet.

The President read a letter from J. H. Trumbull, Esq., of Hartford, addressed to Mr. Deane, presenting to the Society a copy of Winder's "History of Knowledge," containing on a fly-leaf an interesting autograph letter of Dr. Benjamin Colman, dated July, 1747, acknowledging the receipt of these volumes. The President having read portions of this letter, it was —

Ordered, That the thanks of the Society be given to Mr. Trumbull for this donation:

Mr. FOLSOM communicated the original telegraphic despatch sent by the Secretary of War, J. B. Floyd, 17th October, 1859, to the commander at Fort Monroe, advising him of the seizure of the Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and directing troops to be sent to that place. It was presented by Mr. Wallace Leaming.

Mr. FOLSOM called the attention of the meeting to a large portrait of our late associate, the Hon. Edward Everett, which had been brought to the rooms, at his suggestion, for the inspection of members. It was painted by Mr. Wight, of Boston; and our late associate, Mr. Livermore, had nearly consummated a purchase of the picture by subscription, to be deposited in some public place, when he was removed from us by death.

On motion of Dr. ROBBINS, the subject of the purchase of this portrait was referred to the Standing Committee.

Dr. ROBBINS stated, that, having recently examined several old files of papers in the Cabinet of the Corresponding Secretary, he had discovered a letter written by our late associate, the Hon. Josiah Quincy, while a Representative in Congress in 1812, to the Rev. James Freeman, D.D., relating to the conditions on which the manuscript of "Bacon's Rebellion" had been sent to this Society by the Hon. William A. Burwell, a Member of Congress from Virginia. In this letter Mr. Quincy says, "Mr. Burwell has consented that the manuscript should remain in your hands for publication in the Twelfth

volume of our Collections. He requested, that, in printing, great care should be taken of it; and that it should be returned to me for him, after it has been published. This I have promised, and shall rely on your attention to the request."

Dr. Robbins reminded the meeting, that, in the year 1856, when he was Chairman of the Standing Committee, he communicated a letter from Conway Robinson, Esq., of Virginia, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Virginia Historical Society, requesting that the manuscript in question might be restored to that State, and deposited in the archives of the Society which he represented. This request was made without the knowledge, on the part of the Virginia Historical Society, of the precise conditions on which the manuscript had been originally intrusted to our Society by the proprietor, Captain Nathaniel Burwell. It was couched in the most courteous terms, and asked the restoration of the relic as a favor, instead of claiming it as a right.

Your Standing Committee sent Mr. Robinson's letter to the Hon. Josiah Quincy, asking his remembrance of the occurrence referred to, and his feelings and wishes in reference to the application of the Virginia Historical Society. Mr. Quincy, in reply, stated that he had "no wishes on the subject;" that Mr. Burwell "was a very interesting and highly respected member of the Virginia delegation in Congress in 1812, a gentleman of the Old-Virginia School, gentle, affable, courteous; that he gave the letter to him for this Society, on condition that it should be printed." Mr. Quincy further said, that the only view that the Massachusetts Historical Society

can take of the manuscript is, that they possess it, either as a property or a trust. If the *former*, their title is complete. If the *latter*, disposition to courtesy can be no justification of the transfer of a trust."

Dr. Robbins remarked, that, after having received the views of Mr. Quincy, the Standing Committee, supposing that the facts of the case had been accurately represented by that venerable man, had sent a respectful and kindly letter to Mr. Robinson, declining to comply with the request of the Virginia Historical Society, and explaining the grounds of such a decision.

Dr. Robbins then said, that it was not a matter of surprise, that, after the lapse of forty-four years, Mr. Quincy should have forgotten the precise conditions on which the manuscript had been put into his hands; that no man was more faithful and exact in the performance of a promise or the discharge of an obligation; and that, were he now living to see the letter which he wrote to Dr. Freeman in 1812, he would doubtless be the very first to urge that the engagement which he then made should be fulfilled.

In view of these circumstances, Dr. Robbins suggested that proper measures be taken by this Society to restore the manuscript of "Bacon and Ingraham's Rebellion" to the Virginia Historical Society, in compliance with the request made by the Executive Committee of that Society, in 1856, and seconded by the son of Captain Nathaniel Burwell, the original proprietor of the relic, and also by the son of the Hon. William A. Burwell, who had entrusted it to Mr. Quincy to be printed in our Collections.

JULY MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, July 12, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; the American Antiquarian Society; the American Philosophical Society; La Commission des Monuments et Documents Historiques et des Bâtiments Civils du Département de la Gironde; the Mercantile Library Association of Brooklyn, N.Y.; the New-England Historic-Genealogical Society; the New-England Loyal Publication Society; the Polytechnic College of the State of Pennsylvania; the Proprietors of the "Heraldic Journal"; the Proprietor of the "Savannah Daily Republican"; the State Historical Society of Iowa; the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History; the Trustees of Dartmouth College; the Trustees of the Peabody Institute, South Danvers; George Chandler, M.D.; Charles L. Flint, Esq.; Major L. A. Huguet-Latour; Mr. Edward H. Savage; Edward Shippen, Esq.; H. E. Frederic Smyth, Governor of New Hampshire; John Swett, Esq.; Messrs. Wiggin & Lunt; Hon. Henry Wilson; and from Messrs. Green, Metcalf, C. Robbins, Webb, Whitmore, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President presented, from Count Adolphe de Circourt, a number of the "Revue Britannique," containing an article written by him on Mr. Ticknor's Life of William H. Prescott.

The President read two letters from Mr. William C. Todd, one of which relates to a gift to the Cabinet of a piece of the Confederate flag first raised at Montgomery, Alabama. The following letter accompanied a bullet and beads dug from the ruins of Fort Venango:—

To the Massachusetts Historical Society.

In a recent visit to the oil regions of Pennsylvania, I obtained a bullet and a few beads dug up from the ruins of old Fort Venango. If they are not too insignificant, I would like to present them to the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The fort was situated in what is now Franklin, one of the most prominent of the oil towns. It was one of four—Erie, Waterford, and Fort Du Quesne, being the remaining three—constructed by the French to guard the country against the English. The French, as is well known, had at an early date taken formal possession of the country, and, in 1749, sent Bienville to renew their claim, which he did by burying at various points plates of lead as evidence of title. One of these, buried near the site of Fort Venango, contained the following inscription:—

“In the Year 1749, reign of Louis XV., King of France, we, Celeron, commander of a detachment by Monsieur the Marquis of Galissonière, commander-in-chief of New France, to establish tranquillity in certain Indian villages of these cantons, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Paradakoim, this twenty-ninth of July, near the river Ohio, otherwise called ‘beautiful river,’ as a monument of renewal of possession, which we now take of said river and all its tributaries, and of all the land on both sides as far as the sources of said rivers; inasmuch as the preceding kings of France have enjoyed it by their arms and treaties, especially those of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle.”

Fort Venango was completed in 1755. The original draft made by the French engineer is now in the possession of William Reynolds, Esq., of Meadville, Penn. In December, 1753, Washington, on his tour of inspection by order of Dinwiddie, visited it, but was refused admission, as one historian states, though I would not so judge from Bancroft. It must have been a large and important post, as history speaks of an expedition fitted out from it, consisting of “three hundred and

sixty batteaux and canoes, with upwards of a thousand men and eighteen pieces of artillery." In 1763, a band of Seneca Indians, under pretence of friendship, gained admission to the fort and massacred the garrison, after which it ceased to be used as a fortification. In the language of Bancroft, "The fort was consumed, never to be rebuilt; and not one of the garrison was left alive to tell the story of its destruction."

The embankment forming the outline of the fort is still in a good state of preservation; and the little stream, diverted from its original course to furnish water for the garrison, still flows in its artificial bed. As it is now over a hundred years since the destruction of the fort, this bullet must have lain there certainly that period, as well as the beads, probably used by the French in their traffic with the Indians. Until the oil excitement, this was an isolated spot, distant from railroad communication, and but little visited by strangers. Many bullets, beads, hatchets, &c., have been dug up in years past, and used as playthings by the children living near. They are now, however, rare; and in a little time, probably, with the influx of population and the changes the country is rapidly undergoing, every vestige of the fort will disappear.

The name Venango was from the Indian "In-nan-ga-ah," altered to Venango, the name now given to the county. It was the original name of French Creek, which unites with the Alleghany near the site of the fort, the name "French Creek" having been given it by Washington. Near Fort Venango, Washington, on his return home from his expedition at the close of 1753, twice came near losing his life,—once by the bullet of an Indian, and again in crossing the Alleghany on a raft.

But it should have before this occurred to me, that I am simply narrating what is well known to the members of the Society.

Very respectfully,

WILLIAM C. TODD.

Boston, 17 State Street, June 15, 1866.

The acknowledgments of the Society were ordered for this contribution.

The President read a letter from Mr. Charles H. Hart, of Philadelphia, accompanying a gift to the Society of a photograph of a memorial engraving of Washington, and a photograph of a rare portrait of Franklin, for which the thanks of the Society were voted.

The President submitted a circular from the President of the "Commission des Monuments et Documents Historiques et des Bâtiments Civils" of the "Département de la Gironde," proposing to exchange their publications for those of this Society. It was accompanied by an index of the Reports of the Commission from 1840 to 1855, and a Report of its Proceedings from 1862 to 1864. This communication was referred to the Standing Committee.

The President read the following letter:—

HON. R. C. WINTHROP, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

MY DEAR SIR,— Allow me, by means of your kindness, to proffer to the Massachusetts Historical Society a cast of the bust of Mr. Sparks, by Powers.

From Mr. Powers I received his own mould; and you are aware, that to an artist, such casts, however inferior their delicacy of finish in the mere accessories, possess an interest peculiar to themselves. Besides the cast in my possession, I think there are but three; and the mould can be no longer used.

Our grateful sense of the affectionate respect, the warm feeling towards Mr. Sparks, and the beautiful recognition of those powers he consecrated to his country, so lately received from your Society, finds relief in this tribute from his orphans and from myself.

I remain, dear Sir, very respectfully,
26th JUNE, 1866.

MARY C. SPARKS.

The grateful acknowledgments of the Society were expressed to Mrs. Sparks for this acceptable gift to its Cabinet.

The President announced the death of the Hon. Lewis Cass, an Honorary Member of the Society, and spoke as follows:—

The Hon. Lewis Cass was elected an Honorary Member of this Society in 1833. He was born at Exeter, New Hampshire, and was for some years a fellow-student of our late

honored associates, Daniel Webster and Leverett Saltonstall, at Exeter Academy. The son of a captain in the Revolutionary army, who had served at Bunker Hill, he inherited a strong taste for military life; and, after a few years of study and practice as a lawyer in the State of Ohio,—whither he had removed with his father in 1800,—and after a brief term in the Legislature of that State, he became a colonel of volunteers, and soon after a colonel and brigadier-general in the regular army of the United States, rendering faithful service to his country in the war of 1812. Retiring from military duty, he became Territorial Governor of Michigan, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the region which now includes both Michigan and Wisconsin. It was in this connection that General Cass obtained that intimate and extensive acquaintance with the Indian tribes which he displayed in so many ways in his subsequent career, and which he embodied in several articles in the “North-American Review,” which attracted great attention. These articles, together with an address on the same subject which he delivered before the Historical Society of Michigan in 1829, gave him a wide-spread literary reputation. The extent and value of his labors during this period may be estimated by the fact, that, when he resigned the office of Governor of Michigan in 1831, he had negotiated nineteen treaties with the Indians, and had obtained from them cessions of land in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, to an amount equal to a fourth part of the entire area of those great States.

In 1831, General Cass became Secretary of War under General Jackson. In 1836 he went to Paris as Minister Plenipotentiary, where he remained in that capacity till 1842, publishing, before his return, an interesting account of the Court of Louis Philippe, under the title of the “King, Court, and Government of France.” In 1845 he was elected a Senator of the United States from the State of Michigan, and continued in the Senate (except during a brief interval, when

he was an unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency) until 1857, when he became Secretary of State under President Buchanan. It is well remembered, that he resigned this office a few months only before the inauguration of President Lincoln, because he could not concur in the inactive policy of Mr. Buchanan towards the Southern secessionists. Since that time, General Cass has lived in retirement at Detroit, where he died, in his eighty-fourth year, on the seventeenth day of June last. Among all the American statesmen of this century, there has been no one of purer life, of more strictly temperate habits, of greater industry, or of more ardent patriotism. And though his views of public policy were frequently at wide variance with those entertained by the men whom New England has most honored and trusted, he yet always enjoyed from his opponents, as well as from his friends, that regard and respect to which his varied accomplishments, his valuable services, and his personal independence and integrity, eminently entitled him. The official announcement of his death by Mr. Secretary Seward, under the authority of President Johnson, was a fit tribute to so protracted and patriotic a career, and gives pleasant assurance, that political differences and partisan rivalries are forgotten at the grave.

The President called attention to a photographic view of Tremont and Boylston Streets as they were in 1800, presented to the Society by the Mayor of Boston; also a view of the house on the Dalton estate, built in Water Street in 1758, presented by Mr. C. H. Dalton.

Mr. W. G. Brooks read the following paper relating to a change of the rule which determined the order in which the names of students should be placed in the Triennial Catalogue of Harvard College:—

In the paper by our associate, Mr. Sibley, upon the Triennial Catalogues of Harvard College, printed in the last

volumes of the Society's Proceedings, allusion is made to the change in placing the names in the Catalogue. In all the Catalogues previous to 1773, the graduates were arranged according to family rank. Mr. Quincy, in his "History of the College," alludes to this, and says, that, during the administration of President Locke, much dissatisfaction existed, and a complaint was made by one individual that his son had not his proper rank according to rule, and the subject was brought before the Faculty; the result of which was, that the Overseers passed a vote, "That, for the future, the practice be laid aside, and that the names of the scholars in each class should be placed in alphabetical order."

Among my papers I find some documents which shed further light upon this subject. It appears that the complaint referred to was made by Samuel Phillips of Andover; and that it related to his son Samuel Phillips, jun., who was afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the Commonwealth.

"At a meeting of the Trustees of Harvard College Aug 18. 1769, Samuel Phillips of Andover Esq^r having some time ago entered a complaint to the President & Tutors that his Son Samuel Phillips a student at the College had not his proper rank in the Class — particularly that he did not rank with the sons of those Gentlemen who were Justices of the Quorum when he himself had been in the Commission of the Peace & Quorum a longer time than any of them — and having from the late President Holyoke & others in the Government of the College a promise, That the records in the Secretary's office should be consulted, & if it did appear that there was a mistake it should be rectified;

"The Secretaries Books having been accordingly consulted, it appears that Mr Phillips was put in the Commission of the Peace in the Year 1752, & that he was made Justice of the Quorum Nov 19. 1761.

"That John Murray Esq (whose son is placed at the head of the Justices) was put in the Commission for the Peace Jan 7, 1754, and was made Justice of the Quorum in 1762.

"Therefore Voted — That Phillips's son, above mentioned, Samuel Phillips, Esqr, do for the future take his place between Vassall and Murray, and

"Ordered That Mr Elliot, Tutor to the Class in which Phillips is thus placed, do deliver a copy of the above vote to him.

a true copy

attest ANDREW ELLIOT, Jr."

Mr. Phillips writes to his son under date of Aug. 29, 1769:—

"You are now in the most difficult situation, & the eyes of all, above and below you, will be upon you, & I wish it might be that you could be at home till the talk about the change was a little over. Every word, action, and even your countenance, will be watched, particularly by those who envy you, and perhaps by those who do not. Therefore keep as much retired as possible, waive all conversation upon it, dont let it appear that you are in the least degree affected with the change. If any difficulties should arise with any of your classmates that now fall below you, treat them with all possible tenderness. If you want advice how to conduct, consult Mr Eliot & Mr Hillyard, but let it be in the most private manner, & keep the advice to yourself. If Murray is uneasy and manifests it to you, say nothing to irritate him. What if you should ask him, whether it would be any ease to his mind if you should continue to stand below him in reciting? But by no means give the most distant hint of yielding your place. But don't begin with him upon it. On the whole say as little as possible."

AUGUST MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, July 12, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the State of Vermont; the American Numismatic and Archæological Society; the American Philosophical Society; the Chicago

Historical Society; the Essex Institute; the Proprietor of the "Savannah Daily Republican"; the Publisher of the "American Loyalist"; John Appleton, M.D.; Francis H. Brown, M.D.; George E. Chambers, Esq.; Henry B. Dawson, Esq.; Franklin B. Dexter, A.M.; Ira Divoll, Esq.; Clement H. Hill, Esq.; Joseph Jackson Howard, LL.D.; Dr. Asa Millet; Hon. Alexander H. Rice; Miss L. G. Sanford; Mr. George Derby Welles; Hon. Henry Wilson; Mrs. Joseph E. Worcester; and from Messrs. Green, Latham, Metcalf, C. Robbins, Sibley, Wheatland, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President read a letter from Ivers J. Austin, Esq., accompanying a donation to the Society of eight hundred dollars of Confederate bonds, for which the acknowledgments of the Society were ordered.

George Peabody, Esq., was unanimously elected an Honorary Member.

The President read the following letter from Lord St. Germans:—

PORT ELIOT, July 18, 1866.

MY DEAR MR. WINTHROP,—Your letter of June 20th, and the volume which accompanied it, reached me this morning. Pray, convey to the Massachusetts Historical Society my grateful acknowledgments of their kindness in sending me this record of their last year's Proceedings, and assure them that I gladly accept the thanks which they offer me for the paper that Mr. Forster transmitted to them. I rejoice to know that it has been deemed to be worthy of a place in their archives. What you say of Mr. Forster's book gives me great pleasure. My esteem for him, and my veneration for the memory of Sir John Eliot, make it very agreeable to me to hear the work commended by a competent judge.

Believe me to be, my dear Mr. Winthrop, sincerely yours,

ST. GERMANS.

HON. R. C. WINTHROP, LL.D.

An application from Mr. Henry B. Dawson, of Morristania, N.Y., for leave to copy and print the Sermon of the Rev. John Wheelwright, among the Hutchinson manuscripts in the archives of the Society, was referred to the Standing Committee, with full power.

[The "Standing Committee," on considering this application, decided that it was the duty of the Society to print this sermon, and all the other unpublished manuscripts in the Hutchinson collection, in a volume or volumes of their own, as soon as the funds of the Society should enable them to do so. With a view, however, to gratify the wish for this particular discourse, it was referred to the "Publishing Committee," and by their authority is here printed.]*

A SERMON PREACHED AT BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND VPON
A FAST DAY THE XVJth OF JANUARY. 1686,†

By Mr. JOHN WHEELLEWRIGHT.

MATH: the 9. 15.

And Jesus said vnto them, can the Children of the bridechamber mourne as long as the Bridegroom is wth them, but the dayes will come, when the Bridegroom shall be taken from them, & then they shall fast.

OUR blessed Lord & Sauio^r Jesus Christ, though he was the most innocent that euer was, so that they wth hated him, hated him wthout a cause, yet notwthstanding the wicked world, they were euer taking exceptions, both against his sayings & doings.

* The original manuscript of Wheelwright's Sermon, or what has sometimes been supposed to be the original (though we have not been able to compare it with any of Wheelwright's known writing), is in the archives of this Society. From some memo-

† The fast was appointed by the General Court to be held on "the 19th of the 11th month, being the 5th day of the weeke, Thursday" (Mass. Col. Records, I. 187). Winthrop (History, I. 213) says the fast was kept on the 20th, which was Friday. It was probably kept on *Thursday*, the 19th, that day of the week being usually selected, at that period, for such occasions. The date placed at the head of this transcript of the discourse was probably not copied from the original, or was incorrectly copied. — Eds.

In the beginning of this chapter, they brought vnto him a man sicke of the palsey, lying vpon a bedd. Jesus seeing their faith, said vnto

randa upon one of the blank leaves, it appears to have once been in the possession of John Coggeshall, one of Wheelwright's contemporaries and adherents. It originally contained forty-two pages, the first eight of which are now wanting. There is, however, a complete transcript of the Sermon, in an ancient hand, among the Hutchinson manuscripts in the library of the Society.

In the copy which has been made for the press, the original has been followed; and the part wanting in that has been supplied from the ancient transcript referred to. This differs from the original principally in its orthography.

The Sermon was preached on a fast-day appointed by the General Court of Massachusetts to be held on the 19th of January, 1636-7. Dr. Palfrey thinks it was delivered at Mount-Wollaston Church, which was then a branch of the Boston First Church; but, from the "Briefe Apologie" in defence of the Court (probably written by Winthrop), printed in the "Short Story," p. 52, it seems certain that it was preached in Boston. Dr. Lunt thinks it by no means improbable, that Wheelwright preached it to his own congregation at Mount Wollaston in the forenoon, and repeated the substance of it at the Boston Church in the afternoon, after Cotton had concluded his discourse. For the preaching of this sermon, Wheelwright was adjudged by the Court "guilty of sedition." Winthrop tells the story thus: "Mr. Wheelwright, one of the members of Boston, preaching at the last fast, inveighed against all that walked in a covenant of works, as he described it to be, viz. such as maintain sanctification as an evidence of justification, &c. and called them antichrists, and stirred up the people against them with much bitterness and vehemency. For this he was called into the court, and his sermon being produced, he justified it, and confessed he did mean all that walk in such a way. Whereupon the elders of the rest of the churches were called, and asked whether they, in their ministry, did walk in such a way. They all acknowledged they did. So, after much debate, the court adjudged him guilty of sedition, and also of contempt, for that the court had appointed the fast as a means of reconciliation of the differences, &c. and he purposely set himself to kindle and increase them," &c. Scarcely more than a brief allusion to the famous "Antinomian controversy in Massachusetts" can be made in this note: and we would refer those interested in this subject to Savage's edition of Winthrop's "History of New England;" Ellis's "Life of Anne Hutchinson," in Sparks's American Biography; and Palfrey's "History of New England." See also Lunt's "Two [Bi-centenary] Discourses delivered September 29th, 1839," at Quincy.

Mr. Savage, who read this Sermon, over forty years ago, while editing Winthrop's History, unhesitatingly declares (vol. i. p. 215), that its character "was not such as can justify the court in their sentence for *sedition* and *contempt*," &c. Dr. Palfrey, who gives a long extract from it on page 479 of the first volume of his History, thinks that "the composition is of that character which is common with skilful agitators. Along with disclaimers of the purpose to excite to physical violence, it abounds in language suitable to bring about that result," &c.

A tract entitled "A Glass for the people of New England, . . . By S. G. [room]," evidently a Quaker, published in England in 1676, contains some extracts from this sermon; from which it is inferred that it continued to circulate in manuscript for many years. Dr. Palfrey ("History of New England," vol. i. p. 480) discovered that one passage in the "Glass," there attributed to Wheelwright, is not contained in the Sermon, but is the conclusion of Vane's "Breife Answer" to Winthrop, in Hutchinson's "Collection of Original Papers," pp. 82, 83. — EDS.

him, sonne be of good cheare, thy synnes be forgiuen thee, the Scribes say wthin themselves that he blasphemeth. Christ perceiuing their thoughts, answered for himselfe, & telleth them, he cold as easily forgiue synnes as restore this man to health; Christ goeth from thence, & goeth to the receipt of custome & calleth Mathew the Publican, & he receaueth him into his house & maketh a feast. Christ sitteth downe wth Publicans & synners: the Pharisees take exceptions, & tell his Disciples, that their Master eateth wth Publicans & synners, & Christ hearing of it, answereth for himselfe, & telleth them, they were fit subiects to worke vpon, he iustificieth the vngodly: those that are iustified by Christ must not looke to be saued by sacrifice, but by the mercy of Christ. A little after, the Disciples of John were instigated by the Scribes & Pharisees Mar: 2. 18, and they put this question vnto him, Why they & the Pharisees fast often? and the Disciples of Christ fast not? And Christ answered in my text. And thus you see the coherence & dependance of these words.

The text consisteth of two argum^{ts} whereby Christ did prooue & shew, that it was not for his Disciples to fast. The first is taken from the remoouall of any iust cause of fasting w^{ch} they had for the p^{sent}. The second argum^t is taken from a position or putting a iust cause of fast they shold haue hereafter, and that was the remooving Christ from them.

I will not stand to shew the difference of fasts, w^{ch} are either constrained, civill, miraculous, dayly, or religious, but the fast here spoken of in my text, is of the last sort, and mourning is added in my text, because fasting & mourning go together, Joel: 2; and where it is here said, the children of the bridechamber cannot fast, it is to be vnderstood an impossibility of seasonableness, they cannot do it seasonably.

The text containeth in it two poynts, but I wrap all vp in one poynt of Doctrine, and that is this. That the only cause of the fasting of true beleeuers is the absence of Christ.

Either Christ he is p^{sent} wth his people, or els absent from his people; if he be p^{sent} wth his people, then they haue no cause to fast: therefore it must be his absence that is the true cause of fasting, when he is taken away, then they must fast. If we take a view of all the fasts, that haue beene kept, either in the old or new Testament, we shall finde the fasts that haue beene kept by true beleeuers, haue had this for the grounds of them, the absence of the Lord. What was the reason why the people of Israell kept a fast, Judges the 20. &

1 Sam : 7, and Jehosephat & all Juda 2 Cron : 20, and the people of Israell, after they came out of captivity, Nehemiah 9. And the church of Antioch, Acts 13, and Paul & Barnabas, Acts 14; was it not because they wanted the Lord to protect, defend, pardon, & assist? Where there is mençon made of fasting in the Scripture, you shall likewise find mençon made of turning vnto the Lord, and the Prophett Joel, when he speaketh of a fast, he biddeth them turne to the Lord: whereby it is evident, that the reason why God's people do fast, is because there is a distance betweene them & the Lord.

Reas : 1. The first reason is, when Jesus Christ is abundantly p'sent, he doth make a supply of whatsoever the children of God can p'cure in this extraordinary way of fasting: Wee know that vnder the captivity the people of God they fasted exceedingly, they kept a fast in the fourth moneth, 5. 7. 10, and now the Lord p'miseth a restauration of Jerusalem, that is especially accomplished in the kingdome of Christ, when he shall raigne ouer his, and he saith, in this day he will turne the fast of the fourth moneth, 5. 7. 10, into ioyfull gladnes & chearefull feasts. Zach : 8. There is a prophecy of a glorious Church, w^{ch} the Lord will haue vnder the new testament, & especially when the Jewes come to be converted vnto God, and there is a p'mise that the Lord will dwell wth them, & they shall be his people, & he will be wth them, and the effect of it is, all teares shall be wiped from their eyes; Reu : 21, 4, and the same is p'phesied in Isay 65, 19. so farr as Christ is p'sent he taketh away all cause of mourning & weeping, and in his p'sence is fulnes of ioy, and at his right hand there is pleasures for evermore. Ps : 16, 11.

Reas : 2. The second reason is, because when the Lord Jesus Christ cometh once to be absent, then cometh in matter of mourning & fasting, all misery followeth the absence of Christ; as you see darknes followeth the absence of the sunne: the Lord leaueth Hezekiah, 2 Kings. 20. 12, 13, and then what followeth vpon it, he sinneth exceedingly in shewing the Ambassadors the treasure in his house. The Lord departeth from his Disciples, & his Disciples leaue him & forsake him. John : 16. So when it pleaseth the Lord to absent himselfe, then cometh in cause of mourning, and this hath bene the reason that the seruants of God haue wonderfully desired the p'sence of the Lord. Moses desired Gods p'sence, or els never to go vp, and so Dauid, Ps : 27, 9, because he knew very well, if God were absent from him, then misery wold follow.

Vse 1. The first vse may serue to teach vs a reason, why those that

are the children of God, vpon their first acquaintance they get wth the Lord, they are not much addicted vnto fasting, the Lord doth not cary them that way; the time when Christ was vpon the earth, he being p^{sent} wth his Disciples, he was euer & anon instructing of them; when they were in dobt of any thing, he telleth them, and if they cold not answere many dobt, then Christ came & answered for them, and if at any tyme they were in any danger, then Christ comforteth them, and was euer & anon wth them. And thus the Lord dealeth wth his children, spirituallly in regard of his spirituall p^{sence}, when Christ first cometh to breake into the soules of his, he is wonderfully pleasant vnto them, and euer & anon instructing of them & comforting of them; yea, the Lord heareth them before they pray. or when they are a speaking, & doth exceedingly solace them; but afterwards it may be the saynts of God may come to be left & forsaken of the Lord, either because the children of their mother is angry wth them, & make them keepe the vyneyard, those vnder a covenant of works, maketh them trauaile vnder the burthen of that Covenant, and so maketh the Lord absent himselfe from them, and then Christ cometh to depart from them, & then they fast; or els whilst they grow carnall, & fall into a spirituall sleepe, Christ leaues them. Cant: 5. 6.

2. Secondly, from hence we are taught how to cary & behaue ourselues now vpon this day of humiliacon, there are diuers evils w^{ch} wee may happily desire shold be remoued, both from forrayne nations & from this place where we live, and diuers good things we desire shold be p^{ceured} both for them & ourselues. What is the course we must take? must we especially looke after the remouing those euill things & p^{ceuring} those good things? this an hipocrite will do, see the example of Ahab, 1 Kings 21: 27, 28, 29, and the Lord will grant the desire of hipocrites: in this case see 78 Ps: 34, for there the hipocriticall people of the Jewes in their misery sought the Lord, and the Lord being full of compassion, he forgiueth their iniquities & destroyeth them not, in the 38 verse of that psalme: must we then do as they did? by no meanes: What must we do then? We must looke first at the Lord Jesus Christ, & most desire now that Jesus Christ may be receaued in other nations & other places, and may be more receaued amongst our selues, we must turne vnto the Lord, & then he will turne all into a right frame, when many enimyes came against Jehosophat, what doth he? he goeth & seeketh the Lord, & his eyes are towards the Lord. 2 Cron: 20, 12, so the children of God are a company, a generation that seeke the Lord & his strength &

face euermore, Ps: 105, 4. they do not only seeke the gifts of his spiritt, but the Lord himselfe, they doe not seeke after strength to be receiued from the Lord only, but they seeke after the strength that is in the Lord, they do not seeke only to know the Lord by fruits & effects, but looke vpon the Lord wth a direct eye of faith they seeke his face, and this is the generation of seekers spoken of Ps: 24, 6, therefore if we meane to pcure good things & remooue evill things, this will be our course, seeing the absence of the Lord is the cause of fasting, and the end of our fasting must be our turning to the Lord, & he will turne to vs, Joel 2. and thus the Lord will turne all things for the good of his, Rom: 8, 32, if we* get y^e Lorde Jesus Ch, we shal haue al things.

3. Thirdly, from hence we are taught a reason, why, thos y^e doe not knowe the Lorde Jesus Ch, they are vsially giuen y^e most vnto fasting, not y^e I condemne fasting by any means; but this is it, many times thos that are the leaste aquainted wth y^e Lorde Jesus are giuen y^e most of al to fasting, y^e Papists are giuen much to fasting, & ponish themselves by whipping, & y^e people in captiuitie they were not aquainted wth the Lorde, & soe did not faste to the Lorde. Zac: 7. 5. 6. & appointed more fasts then the Lorde appointed, the 4, 5, 10 month, & the Phareses fasted twise a weeke, Luk. 18. 12. they wanted y^e Lorde Jesus Ch, & they must haue somethinge to reste vpon, & must close wth some thinge, & because they wante Ch they fast. This for y^e first vse of instruction.

Vse: 2. The second vse of exhortation, & it serueth to exhorte vs al, in the feare of God, to haue a spetial caire, that we p^{ie} not wth y^e Lorde Jesus Ch: if we p^{ie} wth Ch we p^{ie} wth our liues, for Ch is our life, saith Paule, Col. 3. 4, the Lorde Jesus Ch is not onely the author of our life, but is the very seate of the life of God's children, & al there life is deriued from Ch, for he is y^e roote & he conuayeth life to y^e branshes, & thos y^e are y^e children of God, they liue by y^e faith of y^e sonne of God, Gal. 2. 20. they haue faith to lay houlde on the sonne of God, & y^e son of God conuayeth life to them; therefore if we p^{ie} wth Ch, we p^{ie} wth our liues, therefore it standeth vs all in hande to haue a caire Ch be not taken frō vs, if we belonge to the election of graise, Ch can not be holy

* The early transcript of the sermon has been followed to this place; and here we begin with the "original manuscript," the first eight pages of which are wanting.—Eds.

taken away from vs, yet may be taken away in some degree, therefore let vs haue a caire to keepe y^e Lorde Jesus Ch.

Ob: It may be heare demanded, what course shal we take to keepe the Lorde Jesus Ch.?

A: The way we must take, if soe be we wil not haue y^e Lorde Jesus Ch taken from vs, is this, we must all of vs ppaire for a spiritual combat, we must put on y^e whole armor of God, Eph: 6, 11, & must haue our loines girt, & be ready to fight; behould the bed y^e is Solamōs, there is threscore valient men about it, valient men of Israel, euery one hath his sworde in his hande, & being experte in warre, & hath his sworde girt on his thie, because of feare in y^e night, if we wil not fighte for y^e Lorde Jesus Ch. Ch may come to be surprised. Solamon lyeth in his bed, & there is such men about the bed of Sollamon, & they watch ouer Sollamon, & wil not suffer Sollamō to be taken away; & who is this Sollamon, but y^e Lorde Jesus Ch; & what is y^e bed, but y^e Church of true beleeuers, & who are those valient men of Israel, but al the children of God, they ought to shew themselues vallient, they should haue there swords readie, they must fight, & fighte wth spiritual weapens, for the weapens of our warfaire are not carnal but spiritual, &c. 2 Cor: 10, 4. therefore wheresoe euer we liue, if we would haue y^e Lorde Jesus Ch to be abundantly p'sent wth vs, we must all of vs ppaire for battel, & come out ag^t y^e enymies of y^e Lorde, & if we doe not striue, those vnder a couenant of workes wil p'uaile. We must haue a spetial caire therefore to shewe our selues coragious. al y^e vallient men of Dauid, & all y^e men of Israel, Barak, & Debora & Jael, all must out & fight for Ch; curse ye Meroz, because they came not ought to helpe y^e Lorde ag^t y^e mighty, Judg: 5, 23 — therefore if we wil keepe y^e Lorde Jesus Ch & his p'sence, & power amongst vs, we must fight.

That thes things may be y^e better cleared, we must vnderstand & cal to our considerations, y^e as soone as euer Ch was borne into y^e world, Herod & al Jerusalem was troubled. Math: 2, & if y^e Lorde had not p'uented him, he sought to destroy him, & when Ch Jesus came once to shew him selfe, & to declaire him selfe, & exersise his publike minestery, y^e world seteth them selues ag^t him to intrap him, & they labour to kille him, & neuer lefte, til they crusified y^e Lorde of glory, for this was done by Herod & Pontius Pilat, Act. 4; & when they had crusified him, that would not serue y^e turne, but he being buried, they come & make it suer, & sealeth y^e stone, & seteth a watch & warde, & would haue buried y^e Lorde for euer, & would haue kepte

him eternally in the graue, but he raised him selfe by his power; and sins Ch reserrection & assention al y^e enymies of y^e Lorde Jesus Ch, they endeauour to doe it spiritually, & as they buried y^e Lorde Jesus Ch, & laboured to keepe him there, soe spiritually they burie Ch, & they doe not onely labour to do this, y^e are pagonish, but y^e antichtian. Why doe y^e heathen raige & the people imagine a vaine thinge, Psal. 2, 1, what people are they, the people of God, y^e people of y^e Jues, this people doe imagine to take away y^e Lorde Jesus Ch, & what hath beene y^e practis of all Antechtian spirits, but onely to take away y^e Ch, y^e Son of y^e liueing God, & to put in fals Ch, & to deceiue the electe, if it were possible, Math. 24, 24; for what is Antech., but one being ag^t Ch., & for Ch, his being for Ch, is being ag^t Ch, he is ag^t Ch. becaus he would put one in y^e roome of Ch, therefore if we wil keepe the Lorde Jesus Ch amongst vs, we must stande vpon our gairde. & watch ouer y^e Lorde Jesus Ch, as y^e vallient men of Israel watched ouer Solomon.

Ob. It may be heare demanded what course must we take to p^ruaile in this combat, for fight we must?

A. If we would p^ruaile thorow y^e strength of y^e Lorde for of our selues we can doe noe thinge, then we must first contende for y^e faith once deliuered to y^e saints, y^e Epistle of Jude, v. 3, y^e is y^e Gospel, it was but once deliuered for y^e substans, though many times in re-gairde of y^e maner, we must therefore striue for y^e faith of y^e Gospel, & striue togeather for y^e Gospel, Phil. 1, 27, if y^e y^e light once be taken away, & darkenes come vpon y^e face of y^e Church, then we may be eaysly deluded, and a false Ch. put in y^e trew Ch roome.

Ob. It may be demanded, what is y^e gospel.

A. It is y^e same glad tideings y^e the Lorde sente into y^e world of a Saviour y^e is borne vnto vs, euen Jesus Ch y^e Lorde, this same gospel is y^e heauenly doctrin y^e was p^resied of before by y^e p^rfet conserning Jesus Ch the Lorde, to be maide of y^e seede of Daud. Y^e gospel is a deuine heauenly supⁿatural doctrin, containeing in it y^e reuelation of Jesus Ch, to preach y^e Gospel is to preach Ch, & y^e Apostle sath, Gal. 6, 14. God forbid y^e I should glory in any thinge but in y^e crosse of Ch: soe y^e Gospel is such a doctrin as doth houlde forth Jesus Ch, & noe thinge but Ch, when such a doctrin is houlden forth as doth reueale Jesus Ch to be our wisdom, our righteousnes, our sanctification, our redemption. 1 Cor. 1, 30, when al is taken away from y^e creatuer, & al giuen to Ch, soe y^e neither before our conuersion, nor after, we are able to put forth one act of true, saueing spiritual wisdom, but we

must haue it put forth from y^e Lorde Jesus Ch, wth home we are maide one; & such a doctrine houlden forth as declaires that we are not able to doe any worke of sanctification, further then we are acted by y^e Lorde, nor able to p^{er}ueur our Justification, but it must be the Lorde Jesus Ch y^e must apply himselfe & his righteousnes to vs, & we are not able to redeeme our selues from y^e least euil, but he is our redemption; when Ch is thus houlden forth to be al in al, al in y^e roote, al in y^e bransh, al in al, this is y^e Gospel, this is that fountaine open for y^e inhabitants of Juday & Jerusalem for sin & for vncleanenes: Zack. 13, 1, & this is the well, of w^{ch} y^e wells vnder y^e ould testament were certaine tipes, this same wel must be kepte open, if y^e Philistins fille it wth earth, wth y^e earth of there owne inuentions, those y^e are y^e seruants of Isaack, true beleuers, y^e seruants of the Lorde, must open y^e wels againe; this is y^e light y^e houldeth forth a greate light, y^e is Jesus Ch. for he is y^e greate light y^e lighteneth euery one y^e cometh into y^e world, John, 1, 9, & if we meane to keepe Ch, we must houlde forth this light.

Ob: It may be heare demanded, is there noe thinge to be houlden forth in pointe of Justification, but onely y^e righteousnes of y^e Lorde Jesus Ch, may there not be a reuelation of some worke of sanctification, & from y^e, may not we be carryed to Ch Jesus, & soe come to beleuee in y^e Lorde Jesus Ch, must Ch be al in this point of Justification?

A: Truly both in y^e pointe of Justification, & y^e knowledge of this our Justification by faith, there must be noe thinge in y^e world reuealed but Ch Jesus, none other doctrine vnder heauen able to Justifie any, but mearely y^e reuelation of y^e Lorde Jesus Ch. I am not ashamed of the Gospel, saith Paule, for it is y^e power of God to saluation, Rom. 1, 16, how? for in it y^e righteousnes of God is reuealed: soe it could not be a doctrine wth power to conuirt a soule, if y^e righteousnes of y^e Lorde were not reuealed: therefore when the Lorde is pleased to conuirt any soule to him, he reuealeth not to him some worke, & from y^e worke, carryeth him to Ch, but there is noe thinge reuealed but Ch when Ch is lifted vp, he draweth all to him, that belongeth to y^e election of grace; if men thinke to be saued, because they see some worke of sanctification in them, as hungering & thirsting & y^e like, if they be saued, they are saued wthout the Gospel. No, noe, this is a couenant of workes, for in the couenant of grace noething is reuealed but Ch, for our righteousnes; & soe for y^e knowledge of our iustification by faith, noething is reuealed to a soule but onely Ch, & his righteousnes freely giuen, it was y^e very grace of God y^e appear-

ed, y^t same apperition whereby y^e soule cometh to knowe y^t he is Justified, y^e obiect of it is Ch freely giuen, when y^e loueing kindenes of Ch appeared, in y^e 3 Titus 5, not by workes of righteousness, &c., they are laide aside, & y^e Lorde reuealeth onely to them y^e righteousness of himselfe giuen freely to y^e soule, if men haue reuealed to them some worke of righteousness in them selues, as loue to y^e bretheren & y^e like, & heare vpon they come to be assured they are in a good estaite: this is not y^e assurance of faith, for faith hath Ch reuealed for y^e obiect, therefore if y^e assurans of ones iustification be by faith as a worke, it is not gospel.

Ob: It may be further demanded, must not any sanctification in y^e gospel be pressed vpon those that are y^e children of God, but onely as it doth come from Jesus Ch y^e roote, & as he worketh it in those y^t are true beleuers.

A: Not in y^e gospel. Sanctification must be preached noe other way, al duties of sanctification pressed vpon y^e children of God, must be soe vrged, as wth all it be declaired y^t they growe from the roote Jesus Ch., worke out yo^r saluation wth feare & trimbleing Phil. 2, 12; it is he y^t worketh in you both to wil & doe of his good pleasure; this is y^e couenant of Grace, y^e Lorde Jesus Ch wil be our sanctification, & worke sanctification in vs & for vs. A new harte wil I giue yow, & a new spirit, & they shal walke in my statuts & iudgements to doe them. Ezek. 36, 26, 27. I wil forgiue there sins, & wrighte my law in there harts & inwarde p^{tes}; If works be soe pressed as if a beleuer had power in him selfe to worke, it killeth y^e spirit of Gods children, put any worke of sanctification in a legal phraime & it killeth him; y^e law killeth but it is y^e spirit y^t quickens, y^t is y^e gospel in wth the spirit of God is conuayed, when God speaketh he speaketh y^e wordes of eternal life, & Peter sath to Ch, whether shal we goe, for wth y^e is y^e wordes of eternal life, therefore ought noe workes of sanctification to be vrged vpon the seruants of God, soe as if they had a power to doe it, it wil kille y^e soule of a man, & it oppreseth the pore soules of y^e saints of God; Ch saith, Math: 11, 28, come vnto me al ye y^t labour & are heauie ladened, &c., as longe as we are absent from Ch, we are heauie ladened, but when Ch pulleth vs to him selfe, & takes our burthen vpon him, then we finde ease. Learne of me, for I am meeke & lowly, & yow shal finde rest to yo^r soules. Ch was soe meeke & lowly, as content to receiue al frō the Father, & soe must we be meeke & lowly, & contente to receiue al from Ch, if y^e duties be pressed any other way, they wil be burthens that neither we

nor our fathers wil be able to beare; therefore if we meane to keepe y^e Lorde Jesus Ch, we must keepe open this fountaine, & hould forth this light, if there be a night of darkenes, y^e feare saith the Spirit of God, is in the night.

2. The second action y^e we must pforme, & y^e seconde way we must take is, when enymies to y^e truth oppose y^e way of God, we must lay loades vpon them, we must kille them wth the worde of y^e Lorde, Hos: 6, 5, y^e Lorde hath giuen true beleuers power ouer y^e nations, & they shal breake them apees, as shiuered wth a rod of Iron; & what rodde of Iron is this, but y^e worde of y^e Lorde, & such honour haue al his saints, Psa. 149, 9. y^e Lorde hath maide vs of thrushing instruments, wth teeth, & we must beate y^e hils into chafe, Isa. 41, 15, therefore in y^e feare of God handel y^e sworde of y^e spirit, y^e worde of God, for it is a too edged sworde, & Heb. 4, 12, this worde of God cuteth men to y^e very harte.

Ob: It may be objected y^t there wil be but littel hope of victory for y^e seruants of God, because y^e childeren of God are but few, & those y^e are enymies to y^e Lorde & his truth are many?

A: Trew, I must confes & acknowlege y^e saints of God are few, they are but a littel flocke, & those y^e are enymies to y^e Lorde, not onely Pagonish, but Antechristian, & those y^e runne vnder a couenant of workes are very strong: but be not afraide y^e battel is not y^{ours}, but Gods; ye know y^e speech rendered by the pfet when soe many came ag^t Joshua; Josh. 23, 10, one of yow shal chase athousand, &c. if we should goe in our owne strength, we should be swallowed vp, many a time may Israel say, if it had not beene for the Lorde, we had beene swallowed vp, if it weare not for y^e Lorde of Hoasts, there were littel hope of p^ruaileing by y^e saints, but out of y^e mouthes of babes & sucklins, God ordaineth him praise, to stil the enymies, y^e Lorde wil magnify his name in y^e saints, & though Gods people be but few, yet it is y^e Lorde of hoasts, that God of heauen & earth, y^e layed y^e foundation vpon y^e seaes, & in comparison of home all y^e nations are as noe thinge, Jehouah is his name, that greate God; it is Micael that fighteth wth his angels; therefore though the people be few, yet it is al one for God to saue whether wth many or those wth haue noe strength.

Ob: 2 It wil be objected y^t diuers of those who are opposite to y^e waies of grace, & free covenant of grace, they are wonderous holy people, therefore it should seeme to be a very vncharitable thing in y^e seruants of God to condemne such, as if soe be they were enymies to

the Lorde & his truth, whils they are soe exceeding holy & stricte in there way.

A: Bretheren, those vnder a couenant of workes, y^e more holy they are, y^e greater enymies they are to Ch, Paule acknowledgeth as much in y^e 1 Gal: he sath he was zelus according to y^e Law, & y^e more he founde in a legal way, y^e more he p^rsecuted the waies of grace, 13 & 14 Act. where al deuout people were such as did expel Paule out of Antioch, & out of all y^e coasts. It maketh noe matter how seemingly holy men be, according to the law, if they doe not know y^e worke of grace & waies of God; they are such as truste to there righteousness; they shal dye, sath y^e Lorde, Ezek. 33, 13: what a cursed righteousness is that, y^e thrusteth out y^e righteousness of Ch, the Apostle speaketh they shal transforme themselues into an Angel of light, 2 Cor. 11, 14, therefore it maketh noe matter, how holy men be, y^e haue noe acquaintance wth Ch. Seest thou a man wise in his owne conceite, more hope there is of a foole then of him. Pro. 26, 12. We know (thorow y^e mercy of God) as soone as Ch cometh into y^e soule, he maketh y^e creatuer noe thinge, therefore if men be soe holy, & soe stricte, & zelus, & trust to themselues & there righteousness, & knoweth not y^e waies of grace, but opposeth free grace; such as those haue not y^e Lorde Jesus Ch, therefore set vpon such wth y^e sworde of the spirit, y^e worde of God.

Ob: 3. It wil be objected, y^e y^e children of God should be a meeke generation, it is an exhortation y^e Apostle giueeth, Jam. 3, 13.

A: ffor to fight corragiously, in y^e cause of God, & to be meeke, they are diuers, but not opposits, they may stande very wel togeather: yow know when Steuen was in a meeke phraē, for y^e spirit of God was in him, and was in a calme quiet frame & dispoſition: & yow see what a vehement speech Steuen maide to y^e enymies of God, Act 7, 51, it cuteth them to y^e very harte, yet Steuen, a meeke man, he prayeth for his enymies in a meeke phrame of spirit, & yet vehement to those that oppose y^e waies of God. Ch was meeke, I am suer yow wil say, & he sath, learne of me, for I am meeke and lowly, yet when he cometh to those that did oppose y^e waies of grace, yow are the children of y^e Deuel, Joh. 8, 44, & in the 23^d Math: 23, woe be to yow, Scribes, Pharises, hipocrits, a vehement speech he vseth, yet Ch y^e meekest y^e euer was, therefore yow may eaysly beate downe thos boulds by y^e sworde of y^e spirit, y^e worde of God.

Ob: 4 It wil be objected this wil cause a combustean in Church & comanwealth.

A: I must confesse & acknowledge it wil doe soe, but what then, did not Ch come to sende fier vpon y^e earth? Luke 12, 49, & what is it, y^t it were already kindled, he desireth it were kindled, & it is y^e desier of y^e spirit of y^e saints y^t this fier were kindled; is not this that that is p^reseyed of, Isa. 9, 5. This battel betweene Micael & his Angels, y^e battel betwene Gods people & those that are not, thos battels of Chtians must be burneing, and what is it, but y^e burneing of y^e worde of God, accompanied by y^e Holy Goast, this prophised of in Mal. 4, 1, y^e day shal come y^t shal burne like an ouen, & al y^e wiced shal be stuble, &c. this is y^e terrible day of y^e Lorde, when the gospel is thus helde forth, this [is] a terrible day to al those y^t doe not obey y^e Gospel of Ch. Bretheren, we know that y^e whore must be burnt, Reu: 18, it is not shaueing of her heade, & paireing her nails, & changeing her rayment, that wil serue y^e turne, but this whore must be burnt. Many speake of y^e external burneing of Rome, but I am suer there must be a spiritual burneing, & y^t burneing by y^e fier of y^e Gospel. This way must Antech be consumed. 2 Thes: 2. why should we not further this fier, who knoweth how soone those Jues may be conuirted, Reu: 18. 19. chap. after y^e burneing of y^e whore follows Alleluia, a praising of y^e Lorde in Hebrue; we knowe not how soone y^e conuirtion of the Jues may come, & if they come, they must come by y^e downefal of Antech, & if we take him away, we must burne him, therefore neuer feare combustions & burneings.

Ob: Lastly it may be obiected ag^t thos cumbats & fightings, if minesters & Chtians be soe downeright, & soe striue & contende, & houlde forth y^e worde of God, wth such violens & power, this wil be a meanes to discourage those y^t are weake Chtians, & doe them a greate deale of hurte.

A: Let y^e Gospel be neuer soe clearely helde forth, it neuer hurteth y^e children of God, noe it doth them a greate deale of good, y^t same very fier of the worde, y^t burneth vp al vnbeleefers, & al vnder a couenant of workes, y^t Gospel doth exceedingly cleare Gods children. Mal: 4, 2. then y^e sonne of righteousness shal come wth healeing in his wings, &c. & in Math. 3, Ch when he handeleth y^e gospel, he layeth y^e axe to y^e roote of y^e tree, & what followeth hearevpon, he will purge his flore, layeth y^e axe to y^e roote, & cuteth downe al hipocrits, & those y^t builde vpon any thinge besids Ch, & then he wil purge his Church, & gather y^e wheate into y^e garner, true beleuers wil come in; vnbeleuers & hipocrits, chaffe wil be al burnt vp: soe y^e same Gospel

y^r is a worde of terror to wiced men, is a greate cumforte to all that beleue in y^r Lorde Jesus Ch.

3. Thirdly, if we meane to keepe y^r Lorde Jesus Ch, we must be wiling to suffer any thinge, yow knowe in 12 Reu: 11, the saints of God ouer came, & ouer came by y^r bloode of y^r Lambe, y^r is, by y^r Lorde Jesus Ch, & worde of y^r testimony, y^r is, the Gospel, & they loue not there liues to death, y^r is, if we wil ouercome, we must not loue our liues, but be wiling to be killed like sheepe; it is vnpossible to houlde forth y^r truth of God wth external peace & quietnes, if we will p^ruaile, if we be cauled, we must be wiling to lay downe our liues, & shal ouercome by soe doeing; Samson slew more at his death, then in his life, & soe we may puaile more by our deathe, then by our liues.

4. ffourthly, if we wil keepe Ch, we must consider y^r we can not doe any of this, by any strength y^r is in our selues, but we must consider y^r it is y^r Lorde y^r must helpe vs & acte in vs, & worke in vs, & y^r Lorde must doe all. When as Zerobabel & Joshua & y^r people came out of captiuiti to builde y^r temple, they al take there rest, & leteth y^r temple alone, til y^r Lorde come & stirre vp y^r spirit of Zerobabel & Joshua & y^r people, & then they falle of building: soe (bretheren) we may thinke to doe greate matters; and lye quiatly & calmely, & let y^r enymies of y^r Church doe what they wil, till y^r Lorde stirre vs vp; y^r Judges stired not, til the spirit of God came vpon them, & then they did wonderful things, soe in some measure we must looke for y^r spirit of y^r Lorde to come vpon vs, & then we shal doe mighty things thorow y^r Lorde, it is y^r Lorde himselfe y^r must effecte & doe all: this for the first exhortation, not to suffer the Lorde Jesus Ch to be taken violently away from vs, wheresoe euer we liue, we shall finde some y^r goe vnder a couenant of workes, & those are enymies to Ch, & y^r flesh wil luste ag^t y^r spirit, &c. Gal: 5, 17, & soe we shal finde it in our spirits, those y^r are in y^r flesh, mind the things of y^r flesh, Rom: 8, 5; therefore, wheresoe euer we are, we shal haue Ch taken away from vs by violence, if y^r Lorde be not pleased to giue vs to use those meanes.

Vse 2. The second vse of exhortation, we y^r are vnder a couenant of grace, let vs all haue a caire soe to carry our selues y^r we may haue y^r psens of the Lorde, y^r he may not depte from vs; for if y^r Lorde depte, then we shal haue cause of morneing indeede. Y^t we may carry and behaue our selues, as y^r Lorde Jesus Ch, who is amongst vs, y^r he may stil be more & more p^rsent wth vs.

1. We must haue a spetial caire, in the first place, y^t as any of vs is interested wth the gospel, soe to deale faithfully in the despenceing of it, whether we be in place or not in place, whether bretheren or sisters, being maide ptakers of the grace of God, being maide stuards, we are to be founde faithful, therefore let vs haue a caire to deale faithfully, & hould forth y^e truth, as it is in the Lorde Jesus Ch, & then we shal finde y^e Lorde to be p^rsent wth vs, Math: 28, 28. Be-hould I am wth yow, if y^e teach y^t, y^t he hath comāded, he wil be wth them, therefore in y^e feare of God haue a caire, y^t we doe renounce y^e hidden things of dishonesty, & we doe not vse any deceate. Let vs not be as some y^t doe corrupte y^e worde, but as in senserity, in y^e sight of God, as in Jesus Ch: soe let vs speake, let vs all haue a caire to hould forth Ch, & not runne into generalyties. If Ch vanish away in a cloude, y^e saints of God stande gaiseing, & haue sad harts, when we are to houlde forth any truth, let vs deale faithfully in this kinde, & y^e Lorde wil be abundantly p^rsent, we shal finde he shal be a Saueour where soe euer he cometh either of life or death, & if we be faithful in a few things, he wil make vs rulers ouer many, Math. 25: therefore if we meane to inioy y^e p^rsence of Ch, & stil to haue more of y^e Lorde Jesus Ch, & haue Ch to come & say, good & faithful seruant, & bestowe more of his p^rsens amongst vs, let vs be faithful in despenceing any worde of truth.

2. Secondly, let vs haue a caire, al of vs, y^t we loue one an other; this is my comādemēt y^t ye loue one an other, as I haue loued yow, 1 Joh. 3, 23: y^e Lorde Ch delighteth in a loueing people, when the saints of God loue one an other, and are wiling to lay downe there liues one for an other, y^e Lorde delighteth in it, Ch was loueing when he was vpon the earth, if the desiples were in danger at any time, he came & supported them, & helped them, when they were poased by the scribes & pharises sometims he came & answered for them. Act 2, 15. sum mocked at them, then Peter stepeth vp & sath, thos are not drunke as ye suppose, he loued them and answered for them. Moses seeing an Egiptian striueing wth his brother, he came & killed him. Act. 7, 24, 25, 26; soe Ch puteth into his people a loueing spirit, therefore let vs haue a caire y^t we doe not allienate our harts one from an other, because of diuers kindes of expressions, but let vs keepe y^e vnity of the spirit in the bonde of peace, let vs haue a caire to loue one an other, & then y^e Lorde Jesus Ch wil be stil more & more p^rsent.

3. Thirdly, let vs haue a caire that we doe shew our selues holy in all maner of good conuirsation, 1 Pet. 1, 5, both in priuat & publike,

& in all our carriges & conuersations, let vs haue a caire to indeuour to be holy as y^e Lorde is ; let vs not giue ocaytion to those y^e are coming on, or manifestly opposite to y^e waies of grace, to suspect y^e way of grace, let vs cary our selues that they may be ashamed to blaime vs ; let vs deale vprightly wth those with home we haue ocaytion to deale, & haue a caire to guide our famylis, & to pforme duties y^e belonge to vs ; & let vs haue a caire y^e we giue not ocaytion to others to say we are libertines, or Antenomens, but Chtians ; let vs expresse y^e vertue of him y^e hath cauled vs, & then he wil manifest his p^rsence amongst vs, John. 14, if yow loue me I wil manyfest my selfe to yow ; he wil crowne his owne worke wth his p^rsence, he wil come into his garden, & eate of the pleasant fruts ; therefore let vs carry our selues, soe y^e we may haue noe cause of mourning, for if y^e Lorde be absente, there is cause of morneing.

Vse. 3. The third vse for reproofe, & first it serueth to condemne al such as in there fastings & dayes of humiliation doe princplely & aboue al seeke for blesseings to be pcured, & euels to be remooued, and this is y^e that they are first carryed vnto, this is not y^e maine matter, y^e maine matter is, the absens of y^e Lorde ; therefore if we wil doe as we ought to doe, and pforme this duty aright way, we must first of all be carryed vnto the Lorde Jes. Ch : they may pcure greate blesseings from y^e Lorde, & yet y^e Lorde neuer accept of them, they may pray to y^e Lorde, & fast & humble themselues, & y^e Lorde may heare them & pdon them, & turne away his wrath ; & yet for all y^e, neuer saue them, how did the Lorde carry himselfe towards the people of y^e Jues, yow know the Lorde gaue them his p^rsence in the wildernes, & gaue them an extraordinary signe of his p^rsence, they had a pillar of fier by night & cloude by day, & the Lorde did cause y^e angel of his p^rsence to goe before them, & gaue them his good spirit to instructe them, Isa. 63. & yet for al y^e, y^e body of them was hypocrits, & y^e Lorde sware in his wrath, y^e they should neuer enter into his rest, what is y^e matter, they pcure vnto themselues things from God & y^e blesseing of God ; but they did not get y^e Lorde himselfe, they had y^e Angel of Gods p^rsence to goe before them, they had not y^e Lorde Jesus Ch in them, they had y^e spirit to instructe them, but not y^e spirit to dwel in them, they pcure to themselues blesseings from y^e Lorde, but they neuer get the Lorde of blesseings ; therefore al those y^e doe turne vnto those blesseings in y^e first place, & doe not first of al turne vnto the Lorde, wil neuer be maide ptakers of y^e Lorde.

2. The second sorte to be condemned, are all such as doe set them-

selues ag^t y^e Lorde Je. Ch, such are y^e greatest enymies to y^e staite y^e can be, if they can haue there wils, yow see what a lamentable estaite both church & coman welth wil be in, then we haue neede of morneing, the Lorde he cannot indure those y^e are enymies to himselfe & people, & vnto y^e good of his church, such shal neuer be able to p^uaille ag^t the Lorde. What wil be the end & Issue, doe yow thinke, if people doe set them selues ag^t the waies of grace & y^e Lorde Jesus Ch? this wil be y^e Issue of it, those that oppose y^e waies of grace, & resist the truth they shall waxe worse & worse, 2 Tim. 3, & they may happily p^ueede a great way, but y^e time wil come that they shal goe noe further, & by reason of y^e agitations of things, it wil come to passe, y^e y^e truth wil be cleared, & there follye wil be manyfested to al men, soe sath y^e Apostle; it is a harde thinge to kicke ag^t the pricks. Act. 9, 5, who soe euer striueeth ag^t y^e Lorde can not p^uper; if men or women doe faule vpon y^e Lord Jes. Ch they breake, but if y^e Lorde Jes. Ch doe faule vpon them, he wil breake them all to powder, if any faule vpon Ch, & they will not let Ch alone; but faule vpon them wth houlde him forth, & wil abuse them, & be buffeting y^e Lorde Je Ch, there is neuer a stroke they giue, but maketh wounds in there consciences, but if they wil be heaueing out Ch, they shal finde it y^e heauiest stone that euer was, it wil faule & breake them all to powder, if people set themselues ag^t y^e Lorde, & y^e waies of grace, & his truth, this wil be y^e issue of it on there p^{te}, either those y^e set [them] selues ag^t y^e waies of God, y^e wil be put to silence by y^e light y^e cumeth from Ch., y^e they wil be soe conuinsed, y^e they shal not be able to speake any more in there cause, as Ch put downe those that came ag^t him, y^e they durst aske him noe more questions, & there cumeth such a power from y^e worde helde forth by y^e saints of God, y^e it wil strike a feare into there harts y^e oppose it. What ailest thou, O Jordan, y^e y^e fluds goe backe, tremble thou earth at y^e p^usens of y^e Lorde, y^e that cum to take Ch, they fel backe, there cumeth a deuine power from y^e Lorde, & turneth them al backe, y^e Lorde wil strike wth trimbleing those y^e cum ag^t Jerusalem, or if they be not put to silence, it wil come to passe in time, they wil faule into wonderful stronge passions, & wil quaril wth y^e saints of God: it was y^e caise of Zedekiah & Micaiah, y^e question was wth of them had y^e spirit of God, he came & smott y^e p^ufet vpon the cheeke, but God's spirit is noe smiteing spirit. Steuen conuinsed y^e Jues, & did by y^e power of y^e Holy Goast, euidence his cause to be y^e cause of God, and y^e were not able to resist y^e spirit by wth he spake, & they al came & runne vpon him, why doe yow resiste y^e Holy Goaste? what maketh

y^e sin ag^t y^e Holy Goaste, but enlightening, & seting them selues ag^t y^e waies of truth, & psecuting it in malis & wrath; it is a feareful thing to faule into y^e hands of y^e liueing God. Heb. 10, 31, for our God is a consumeing fier, Heb. 12, 29, let euery one (in the feare of God) haue a caire, how they set themselves ag^t y^e truth & waies of God, & y^e waies of Jesus Ch, for we must al appeare before y^e Judgement seate of Ch. 2 Cor. 5, 10.

Vse 4. The last vse shal be for consolation, (howsoever this be a day of humiliation, yet y^e apprehension of Gods grace, and mercy, & goodnes, it worketh y^e kindest humiliation, sins are to be considered & looked vpon, but sins ag^t y^e God of grace may melte one: in y^e day I will power vpon them y^e spirit of grace, & they shall morne, &c. Zack: 12, 10. therefore y^e last vse shal be for consolation,) & it may serue to cumforte the childeren of God, w^{ch} doe houlde forth y^e Lorde Jesus Ch, & doth desier y^e Lorde Je Ch might be receiued into churches, into phamylyes, into y^e harts of y^e people of God. (bretheren) those y^e walke this way, are y^e greatest freinds vnto y^e church & vnto coman welth; they intende, & labour, & indeauour to bringe in y^e Lorde Je Ch, & if Ch be p^rsent, there wil be noe greate cause of fasting & morneing: therefore let me (in y^e name of God) incorage al those y^e houlde forth the waies of grace & doe indeauour to make knowne y^e Lorde Jesus Ch. Bretheren & Sisters endeuour to bringe Ch into y^e harts of people, & then yow shal make y^e Church happie, & yo^r selues shal be happie; lifte vp yo^r heads O ye gaits, &c. Psal. 24, 7, bringe the Lorde Je Ch not onely into thy howse, but into thy chamber of him y^e did beget yow, endeauour it for this is God's way, & it is a way to bringe peace & happynes, both to church & coman welth.

Secondly, it may cumforte y^e saints of God in this respect, y^e seeing y^e the Lorde Je Ch his absence is y^e cause of fasting & morneing, this is a cumforte to y^e childeren of God, y^e cum what wil come, they shal be in a happy estaite, they shal be blessed, suppose those that are Gods childeren should loose there howses, & lands, & wiues, & freinds, & loose y^e actings of y^e gifts of grace, & loose y^e ordenances, yet they can neuer loose y^e Lorde Je Ch; this [is] a greate cumforte to Gods people: suppose the saints of God should be banished, depriued of al the ordenances of God, y^e were a harde caise (in sum respect) for we had better pte w^{ch} al, then y^e ordenances; but if y^e ordenances should be taken away, yet Ch can not, for if John be banished into an Iland, Reu. 1, 9, 10, & y^e spirit cum vpon him on y^e Lord's day, there is amends for the ordenances, amends for banishment, if we loose y^e

ordenanses for God, he wil be ordenanses to vs. Therefore let y^e saints of God be incoraged, though they should loose al they haue, yet they being maide one in Ch, & Ch dwelling in there harts by faith, they may be pswaded noethinge can seperate them from Ch. Rom. 8, 38, 39: therefore let y^e saints of God reioyse y^e they haue y^e Lorde Je Ch, & there names written in y^e booke of life, be glad & reioyce, for greate is yo^r rewarde in heauen.

The President announced in the following language the death of two Resident Members of the Society,—
Dr. Thomas H. Webb, and George R. Russell, Esq.,:—

Dr. THOMAS HOPKINS WEBB was graduated at Brown University in 1821, and received the degree of M.D. at Harvard in 1825. Residing in Providence, Rhode Island, he was not long after elected a member of the Rhode-Island Historical Society, and was for many years their Secretary. Between 1830 and 1839, he addressed several communications to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries on the inscription rocks of New England, which are published in the "*Antiquitates Americanæ*" and in the Memoirs of the Society, with a description of the "Skeleton in Armor," found in Fall River, Mass., and supposed to be that of an ancient Northman. After his removal to Boston he was connected with the publishing-house of Marsh, Capen, Lyon, and Webb. He was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, September 28, 1848. In 1850 and 1851 he was engaged as Secretary to the Hon. John R. Bartlett, United-States Commissioner on the Mexican-Boundary Survey. He compiled the first Report to the General Assembly of Rhode Island on the registration of births, marriages, and deaths for 1852-53. He was afterwards engaged as Secretary of the New-England Emigrant Aid Society, and for the last two or three years as Secretary of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He died in Quincy, Aug. 2, 1866.

GEORGE R. RUSSELL, Esq., was graduated at Brown University in 1821 (in the same class with Dr. Webb), and received the degree of LL.D. in 1849. He published an oration before the Rhode-Island Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in 1849, an Address before the Norfolk Agricultural Society in 1851, an Address before the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association in 1853, and a Letter to the Mass Meeting at Providence, Sept. 10, 1856, in opposition to the demands of the slave-power.

The President then submitted from the Standing Committee the following resolution : —

Resolved, That this Society have learned with deep regret the deaths of their esteemed and respected associates, Dr. Thomas H. Webb and George R. Russell, Esq., and that the President be requested to make the usual appointment for the preparation of memoirs of them for our volume of Proceedings.

The Rev. CHARLES BROOKS communicated a memoir of our late associate Joseph Willard, Esq., stating that it had been furnished by the immediate family of the deceased.

MEMOIR
OF
JOSEPH WILLARD.

JOSEPH WILLARD, the youngest son of Joseph and Mary (Sheafe) Willard, was born on the 14th of March, 1798, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where his father, then President of Harvard College, had resided for several years. He was descended from a family well known in Massachusetts history, almost from the first settlement of the colony. Simon Willard, the first of his name in this country, and of the fifth generation before the subject of this memoir, came to Boston in May, 1634, at the age of thirty years, from Horsemonden, in the county of Kent, where, and in the adjoining county of Sussex, the family name had been established as far back as the eleventh century. He was a man of standing and substance in his native place: but the strong bond of a common faith drew him to share, with the Puritan colonists of Massachusetts, their lot of toil and privation for the reward of civil and religious liberty; and he soon acquired the confidence of the infant community and its rulers. With a nature in which a certain grave reserve, consonant with the temper of the times, and habitual moderation of manner and thought, were most prominent, he seems to have possessed great firmness of purpose, a sober energy, and a marked

enterprise of character, which made him a leader among his new associates. In little more than a year after his arrival in the colony, he led a slender band of hardy pioneers who settled the town of Concord, and, in November of the same year, was sent to the assistance of the company who were attempting to establish themselves at the mouth of the Connecticut River.

Identified with the interests of the town he had founded, he was chosen to represent it in the popular branch of the Government, the House of Deputies, in 1636, the third year of its existence, and was re-elected, every year except three, until 1654. In this year he became a member of the House of Assistants, the upper branch of the Legislature; and this position he held continuously until his death, a period of twenty-two years, making a public service as legislator of nearly forty years. In 1637 he was appointed Lieutenant-Commander, a grade equal to that of Captain under our modern system of militia; in 1646, Captain of the town of Concord; and in 1653, Major of Middlesex,—in rank second only to the commander-in-chief of the forces of the Colony. In the early days of the Colony, as in the early days of civilization, the several duties of legislator, warrior, and judge seem to have naturally united in one person. The last of these functions he was soon called to exercise. Appointed clerk of the writs, a minor magistracy, in 1641, and member of the House of Assistants in 1654, he held judicial office, without intermission, until the time of his death. As a member, successively, of the two Houses of government, but probably quite as much from his well-known impartiality, we find him repeatedly appointed commissioner to settle vexed questions of boundary between adjoining towns; or acting as arbitrator in the controversies which inevitably arose in the administration of the internal affairs of the towns themselves: as in the case of Watertown, in 1654; of Lancaster, in 1656; and of Marlborough, in 1670; and usually on the petition of

the contestants themselves. He seems, indeed, never to have been wholly freed from public service after the first year of his arrival.

In consequence of the earnest request of the people of Lancaster, whose affairs he had been called upon as commissioner to oversee, he removed from Concord to this place in 1658, receiving from the Government a grant of land of several acres for a homestead. For nearly forty years, he had held the position of a frontier commander, constantly on the alert in watching over the safety of the sparse settlements of his county against the surrounding savages,—an employment varied only when he was called to take part in the general military operations of the Colony against the Indians, in the successive wars which had arisen,—when the sudden peril of King Philip's war, menacing the very existence of the Colony, called him in 1675, for the last time, into active service. He had always earnestly urged, and pursued with practical success, a conciliatory policy towards all the accessible native tribes, and was rewarded by the security which their friendship gave to the colonists, whom they shielded against the fiercer tribes by whom they were in turn surrounded. But, in the general uprising under King Philip's subtle and widely extended influence, these barriers were swept away before the rising tide of savage attack; and Major Willard was summoned from the court he was then presiding over, at the advanced age of seventy years, to lead the Middlesex militia, and drive back the foe from the exposed towns of his district. This he not only accomplished successfully, but, leading his force by a rapid movement a distance of fifty miles through the wilderness to the town of Brookfield, surprised the Indians, who, secure of their prey, were attacking that remote outpost, and relieved the distressed garrison, and, after some farther movements, averted the danger to the settlements in this quarter. The campaign was early renewed the next year, keeping him incessantly

busy to the last; for, in the interval of active hostilities, his judicial and legislative duties engrossed his whole time, and he held a term of the court until within less than a week before his decease. Death literally found him with his harness on. He died April 24, 1676, amid the general sorrow of the community.

His second son, the Rev. Samuel Willard, the next immediate ancestor in the direct line, was a man distinguished in his day, not more for his piety and learning, which won for him the position of President of Harvard College, than for firmness, tempered by great gentleness,—for warmth of affection, strong sense, and a clear, vigorous understanding. Born in 1639, in the town of Concord, Massachusetts, shortly after its settlement by his father, he entered, after graduating at Harvard College, on study for the ministry, and was settled at the then frontier town of Groton, in response to the urgent prayer of the people. After the destruction of the town in 1676 by the Indians, he removed to Boston, and became pastor of the Old South Church, which position he retained until his death; with so strong an attachment to his charge, that when, in the year 1701, he was chosen President of the College at Cambridge, he declined to accept the title on the condition of quitting his parish and removing to that town, and accordingly received the appointment, and undertook the duties of the office, with the title only of Vice-President,—the letter of the law, requiring the President to reside at Cambridge, being thus satisfied. He retained his pastoral charge till the last. He was a voluminous theological writer; and a large number of his discourses were published during his lifetime. The most elaborate of his productions was a work entitled "The Compleat Body of Divinity," in two hundred and fifty sermons on the Catechism, originally a series of lectures, which were so highly esteemed by his contemporaries, that they were collected and published after his death, by his brethren of the clergy.

But, great as was his reputation for learning, piety, and ability, he merits, in our view, a far higher distinction for the firmness and courage with which he opposed the terrible delusion concerning witchcraft, then spreading over the country like an epidemic, against whose influence the most eminent persons in the community were not proof. While judges, governors, and divines passively yielded to, where they did not actively foment, the gloomy superstition, Mr. Willard boldly yet temperately lifted up his warning voice against it, both in public and in private, and calmly confronted the storm of obloquy and misinterpretation which his conduct aroused; and, when the dark hour had passed, the people remembered with gratitude the stand he had taken. "It ought never to be forgotten," said the Rev. David Pemberton, in the discourse preached on the occasion of Mr. Willard's death, "with what prudence, zeal, and courage he appeared for the people in that dark and mysterious hour when we were assaulted from the invisible world, and how signally instrumental he was in discovering the cheats and delusions of Satan, which threatened to stain our land with blood, and deluge it with all manner of woes." It was in Mr. Willard's church that Chief Justice Sewall stood up, and publicly made his manly acknowledgment of his sorrow for the part he had borne in the prosecutions for the imputed crime of witchcraft. President Willard died in September, 1707, having resigned his office only a month previously, with the consciousness that his end was nigh. His portrait, which still hangs in Harvard Hall, at Cambridge, presents a marked similarity, in feature and expression, to his descendants in the third and fourth generations; and the traits of character in the earlier and later generations were no less strikingly similar. He left a large family of children. One of his sons was the Hon. Josiah Willard, for many years the Secretary of the Commonwealth, and long affectionately remembered and mentioned as "the Good Secretary."

John Willard, the second son of the Vice-President, and the next in the direct line of descent to the subject of this memoir, was the only one of the family who left male descendants bearing the name of Willard. His son, the Rev. Samuel Willard, the father of President Joseph Willard, was born at Kingston, in the island of Jamaica, in the year 1705, and was educated in New-England, under the care and supervision of his uncle, Secretary Willard. Upon graduating at Harvard College, he entered the ministry, and was ordained at Biddeford, in Maine, in the year 1730, and remained there until his death, in the year 1741, at the early age of thirty-six years, leaving a family of four children.

Joseph Willard, the third of these, was left by his father's death, while still quite young, almost to make his own way in the world, and, in this hardy school, quickly learned lessons of self-reliance and energy, which matured his naturally vigorous powers of mind at an early age. He soon, however, found friends and assistance to enable him to enter College, and finished his preparatory studies in less than a single year. A successful career as a student, and the high reputation he achieved as a critical Greek scholar, and an accurate mathematician, brought him so favorably to the notice of the government of the University, that he received the appointment of tutor immediately on taking his Bachelor's degree,—an honor then wholly unprecedented, and which was enjoyed by no one afterwards, until the time of President Kirkland. In November, 1772, Mr. Willard left Cambridge, and was ordained in the ministry of the Congregational Church at Beverly, Massachusetts; and here he remained until 1781, when he was elected President of Harvard College, by the unanimous vote of the Corporation, in concurrence with the Overseers. He had married, while at Beverly, Miss Mary Sheafe, the daughter of the Hon. Jacob Sheafe, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

He returned to Cambridge on receiving his appointment,

and assumed the charge of the College, then suffering seriously, in many ways, from the disturbing effects of our Revolutionary struggle. A wise administration of its finances, coupled with energetic efforts in its behalf and careful government of the students, drew the institution, in a few years, from its position of grave embarrassment to an advanced condition of prosperity and successful working. But the career of a scholar and teacher is uneventful in incidents that excite or engage the attention. His labors and his victories are proclaimed by no trumpet, nor do they kindle the world with admiration; although their quiet influence—as unnoticed, yet as pervasive, as the air we breathe—in removing the seeds of evil, may have raised the generation in which he lived above the dangers of social disorder and public corruption. We shall give, therefore, no minute analysis of President Willard's character nor special detail of the causes of the growth and prosperity which, as years rolled on, attended the institution under his charge. His best biography is the universal testimony to his integrity and worth, not from the historians of the College only, but chiefly from those who had been trained under his wise and kindly care. His success in this important trust was due to the same qualities of character which had made Major Simon Willard the trusted counsellor and magistrate; and his son, the Vice-President, the chosen director of youth,—the stay and staff of the many who looked to him for counsel and guidance. The same unwavering fidelity distinguished each; and death found each still actively laboring in his chosen field. In mind, as in person, an inherited similarity of traits linked the widely severed generations, and presented a striking illustration of the true value of a good descent. President Willard died in New Bedford, September 25, 1804, after a short illness, leaving a widow and a family of eight children, some of whom had already reached the years of maturity.

JOSEPH WILLARD was the youngest child, and was thus, at an early age, left under the direction of maternal influence, being only six years old at the time of his father's death. The work of education, well begun during President Willard's life, was equally well continued by his widow, whose admirable disposition, in which gentleness and firmness harmoniously met, fitted her fully for the duties which the death of her husband had devolved upon her; and the character of the child happily seconded the training he received. Gifted by nature with a serene and cheerful temperament, a healthy and vigorous body, the tasks of childhood pressed but lightly upon him, and yet were always conscientiously performed. This trait of character — conscientiousness — was his by inheritance for many generations; and, from this mainspring of rectitude, all the good tendencies of which his nature was capable received their best development, and, under the tender and watchful guidance of his excellent mother, gradually and surely attained their full growth.

Besides the favorable influences of his home, he seems to have been equally fortunate in his early associates. Among these, it is pleasant to call to remembrance the genial and scholarly William Ware; the gentle and brilliantly gifted brothers, William and Oliver Peabody; and others who have made for themselves a recognized place in the literature of their country, and whose friendship for him grew with their growth, and was only strengthened as years advanced. As the ordering of our lives proceeds by no effect of chance or accident, we may recognize, in the conditions of Mr. Willard's youthful training, its fitness to develop the good qualities of unwavering loyalty to duty, of self-control, and patient forbearance, united with the strong religious sense which always distinguished him, but which adversity, or a too early struggle with the world, in a sterner nature, might have hardened into unamiability and bitterness. After finishing his studies at Cambridge and Exeter, mainly under the super-

vision of his elder brother, Professor Sidney Willard, he entered Harvard College at the age of fourteen, graduated in good standing in 1816, and at once took up his residence in Amherst, New Hampshire. Here he entered upon the study of the law in the office of the Hon. Humphrey Atherton, and acted at the same time as tutor to that gentleman's three sons, of whom one was afterwards United-States Senator. His stay here continued somewhat over a year, while he was diligently occupied in the study of his chosen profession; and at the same time he formed an intimacy with the well-known antiquary, Mr. John Farmer, then residing in that place. His association with Mr. Farmer gave a direction to his tastes and pursuits, which bore fruit in several publications from his pen, now before the world; in the various contributions to magazines, chiefly historical; and in the lively interest felt in the advancement of the objects of this Society, and his life-long connection with it.

On his return to Cambridge, in the ensuing year, he studied for a short time in the office of the Hon. Samuel P. P. Fay, Judge of Probate for Middlesex County, and subsequently entered the Law School, then recently established at Cambridge. He graduated at the school in 1819, receiving the degree of LL.B., and was at once admitted to the bar, beginning practice in Waltham, Massachusetts. From this place he removed to Lancaster, Massachusetts, in 1821, and remained there actively engaged in the duties of his profession for the following ten years. It was a sunny period of his life. As the youngest of so large a family, and so much the junior of the other members of the household, he had stood almost in the relation of a child to his eldest brother, Professor Sidney Willard, then married and residing in Cambridge. But any leaning, even upon the sure affection of mother or brother, was distasteful to his strong sense of independence, although necessary during the term of his studies; and, rejoicing in the prospect of sustaining himself

by his own efforts, he entered with energy and diligent application upon a profession that gradually ensured him an honorable support. The place he had selected for his abode was one of the most beautiful in all New England. No fairer or more fertile valley may meet the eye of the traveller, than the one through which wander the placid waters of the Nashua.

The character of the Worcester-County Bar, with which Mr. Willard was by his residence in Lancaster associated, was of no small advantage to him. It seems to us at this day to have been unusually rich in talent and culture; and the friendly communion which then subsisted between the members of the profession, and which owed its existence not more to similarity of tastes than to the stricter rules of admission to practice then prevailing, made the association at once agreeable and valuable. A practitioner was then admitted to the highest grades in the profession only by successive steps, which deterred mere adventurers from intruding themselves; and the want of modern facilities of travel rendered the assembling of the Bar at the stated terms of court special occasions, giving opportunity for social communion between its members after the keen encounters of the court-room were over. This intercourse was not without its fruits; and Mr. Willard was soon drawn into literary effort, and in the congenial direction of historical research, in connection with other members of the Bar. In the year 1827, Mr. Willard was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society; and, soon afterwards, the publication of a magazine was commenced in Worcester, under the auspices of the late William Lincoln and C. C. Baldwin, Esquires, chiefly devoted to historical subjects, and especially the local histories of the towns in Worcester County. Some very valuable contributions to that department of literature were made during the existence of this periodical. Mr. Willard prepared a History of Lancaster, and bestowed upon it all that care and thorough-

ness which marked every undertaking in which he engaged. The work was a source of keen pleasure to him, both as opening a congenial field of inquiry in a direction rich in historical interest, and as carrying him back to scenes that were identified with his own family history in the settlement of the town and its growth, and the thrilling scenes of adventure and peril to which its frontier position had exposed it in the days of Indian warfare.

In the year 1826, Mrs. Willard, his mother, died. The admirable example and teachings of the life of this excellent lady—a life so harmonious in all its proportions, and so complete in all its relations, that its genial influence was diffused almost unconsciously over those about her—produced upon her son Joseph, as upon all her children, the happiest results.

The tranquillity and comparative leisure he enjoyed in the earlier years of his residence in Lancaster, were well occupied by an industrious study of his profession. Upon all that related to its history, he bestowed so careful an investigation, and his researches were productive of such an amount of valuable biographical material, that, in 1829, he was appointed by the Bar of Worcester County to prepare an historical address, commemorative of its members; which he delivered in October of that year, and which was greeted with warm and well-deserved praise. Perhaps no reputation is so fleeting as that of eminent lawyers. The material fruits of their skill are all that are appreciated outside of the narrow limits of their profession; and, within these, their fame lives only in the traditional remembrances of the Bar. These memorials Mr. Willard garnered, with a careful and tender hand, into a well-ordered account, and rescued from oblivion what was justly termed “a valuable and interesting chapter in the juridical history of Massachusetts.”

During the whole term of Mr. Willard's residence in Lancaster, he was constantly called upon to take part in the local affairs of the town, in which he was warmly interested. He

held in succession numerous town-offices of trust and responsibility, and, in 1828 and 1829, represented the town in the State Legislature. In the year 1829 he became a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, with which he was connected until the time of his death, and which held no second place in his esteem, from years of familiar intercourse and congenial pursuits with many of its honored members. From 1835 to 1857 he performed the duties of Recording Secretary, and from 1857 to 1864 of Corresponding Secretary, — a period of twenty-nine years; a charge at first, and for many years, full of interest and enjoyment to him, and only resigned when his failing strength warned him that the end was drawing nigh. Of his success in the performance of his duties as an officer of the Society, we need not speak. All who had the opportunity of knowing him in this relation, during the many years he held the position, may doubtless recall the habitual exercise of those characteristics of fidelity, promptitude, and unfailing courtesy, which ever distinguished him.

In 1830 he was united in marriage to Miss Susanna H. Lewis, only daughter of the late Captain Isaiah Lewis, of Boston; and soon afterwards he removed to Boston, where in no long time he became firmly established in business. By this change he entered upon a much more extended sphere of action in his profession, which soon occupied him fully with its engrossing demands. There was at this period, also, probably much more to attract in the career of legal ambition than the Bar now presents. The greater requirements made upon the candidate for admission to the higher grades in the profession, repelled the idler or the adventurer, and kept away the unworthy. Into a professional brotherhood thus constituted, it was a privilege and a pleasure to enter; and Mr. Willard's powers were called to their happiest exercise. It was never in his nature to make a hasty choice of his objects in life: from early youth he made his selection,

with instinctive clearness of perception and a just sense of his own qualities; and a labor once undertaken by him, or duties once assumed, were never abandoned. It was a trait in marked contrast with the versatile activity common in New England, and one that compensated him fully for the absence of that versatility, in the wise adaptation of his choice to his own nature, and the steady energy which derived from it all that it could yield. Success came to him, therefore, when it once began to come, rapidly and permanently; and, although he had been comparatively unacquainted in Boston, he made all with whom he had business relations his friends, and may indeed be said never to have lost a client. His admirable constitution made him fully equal to the often exhaustive labor which the establishment of an active practice demands.

In person, Mr. Willard was tall and well formed; his square, compact frame, upright carriage, and firm step, and the ruddy glow of health which his face always bore, struck the most unobservant; and principle, as well as the promptings of a vigorous *physique*, kept him regular and constant in his exercise. Skating in winter, and swimming in summer, and walking in all seasons, he pursued with energy and enjoyment until late in life,—especially the latter, in the White-mountains region, where, for nearly a score of years, he sought invigoration in the summer. He had so well established himself in the confidence of the community, that, in 1838, he received the appointment of Master in Chancery,—an office more judicial in its scope than now, as the entire administration of cases in insolvency, since entrusted to a special tribunal, were then comprised among its duties,—which afforded a most favorable field for Mr. Willard's mind. Quick, clear, and keen in his perceptions; entirely cool, and therefore sound, in reasoning, with qualities in every way conducive to the formation of reliable conclusions,—his great natural self-concentration left him unmoved by merely ingenious argument or subtle refinements employed by counsel in the

complex questions which the department of business we have mentioned constantly brought before him. With these higher judicial qualities, he possessed an admirable method, by which order was sure to attend the discharge of his duties, and speed never degenerated into haste. His records were always neat, almost precise in manner; accurate, not formal, in their statement: and his habits of exactness and promptitude impressed the counsel who practised before him with like activity and care. He held this position for nearly five years, maintaining his law-practice assiduously at the same time.

But Mr. Willard had not proposed to himself a life merely of professional success, nor had he intended to give to literary pursuits only the tardy powers which might be his on retirement from a long life of professional toil, and thus surrender tastes which he had actively cultivated in his earlier days of comparative leisure. Besides the publications already enumerated, he had contributed a number of articles to the "American Monthly Review," a magazine of high tone, established by his brother, the late Professor Sidney Willard, and supported by some of the ablest writers and most eminent scholars of the day. So far as known, these contributions were reviews of the lives of John Jay, Gouverneur Morris, and William Livingston; of Farmer's Harvard Graduates; of the Journal of the Massachusetts Convention; of the Histories of Maine, Maryland, and Plymouth; and of Newhall's "Letters of Junius," — all indicating the prevailing character of his tastes. He had also begun a memoir of Major Simon Willard, which was subsequently much enlarged, and finally was published in 1858.

With his moderate views, therefore, of success in life, and thorough sense of his own fitness for a scholar's career, it is not surprising that he was willing to enter upon an official position which would withdraw him at least for a season from the active labors of his profession, and the prizes he might reasonably hope to gain therein. Wealth of itself did not

attract him; and he was incapable of the sacrifice of powers of which he was conscious, in the pursuit of objects which did not satisfy his nature.

Moreover, in one and the common meaning of the term, he had no ambition, though in its highest sense no man had more, — if it is fit so to term the conscientious resolve to use, to their fullest extent and in their best exercise, the talents with which he was endowed. It was no life of ease that he presented to himself, when voluntarily giving a large share of his time to scholarly work. His exact, minute, painstaking, and thoughtful toil has left behind him a monument almost heroic, in the self-sacrificing labor by which it was reared.

Accordingly, in 1840, he accepted the joint appointment, with George C. Wilde, Esq., to the office of Clerk of the Courts for Suffolk County. By mutual arrangement with this gentleman, he undertook the clerkship of the Court of Common Pleas, the more active and lucrative post. The position of Clerk of the Courts is, in one sense, one of the most responsible known in the administration of justice, because to his care alone the entire body of litigation, with its multifarious evidences, is committed; and he again is solely charged with its due conduct, conformably to the exact rules of practice, in all their infinite variety. He becomes, therefore, a judge only less important than the magistrate on the bench, of whom, in his particular department, he is necessarily the trusted confidential officer, and often the guide. The branch of the law called practice, — in itself a lesser common law, the importance of which has repeatedly merited codification, — it is peculiarly the function of the clerk to know and to administer, alike for the benefit of the judge, the counsel, and the suitor. The mastery Mr. Willard obtained over the minute and varying learning of this branch of the law, became almost proverbial; while the numerous details of the routine of his office, which had failed to receive their due attention from his predecessors, seemed to fall, under his controlling hand,

each into its due place, until the whole became an almost automatic machine, competent to proceed without the hand of the master. In 1855, the office of clerk was made elective by the people: but the change, so far as Mr. Willard was concerned, was merely nominal; for he was elected with hardly a shadow of opposition in 1856, and again in 1861, the recurring quinquennial period fixed by law for the election.

His court underwent several changes during his long tenure of office, a term of twenty-five years,—from a Court of Common Pleas to a special tribunal for Suffolk County, in the year 1856; and back again, in 1859, to a court of general jurisdiction throughout the Commonwealth. Each change brought Mr. Willard into close and confidential relations with a new body of judges; but no diminution of the friendly respect with which he was regarded, or in their reliance on the invaluable assistance of his accurate mind, enriched by the long experience of devoted service at his post.

The leisure which Mr. Willard at first secured for himself by his voluntary retirement from active professional life during the period of his strength, justified to some degree in its fruits the wisdom of his deliberate choice. He was enabled to produce many valuable contributions in the historical department of letters; but his most elaborate effort, already alluded to, was published in 1858, under the title of the "Willard Memoir." This work, the history of his ancestor, Major Simon Willard, had been begun many years previously, and at first without any thought of publication. In the genealogical researches of his friend, Mr. John Farmer, Mr. Willard was often a voluntary assistant; and, in the progress of these investigations, he came to ascertain many interesting particulars relative to his own family, and gradually to a thorough acquaintance with the origin and history of the name of Willard. The work was truly a labor of love, but so faithfully and elaborately executed, that its publication was strenuously urged by the many who had learned of its progress. It was

accordingly published by subscription in 1858. It has been called a "model memoir;" and not undeservedly, marked as it is by entire thoroughness and accuracy, with a close attention to the full development of the prominent traits and effective presentment of the qualities, not of the subject of the memoir alone, but of the day and generation in which he lived, and in which the foundations of our civil and religious liberty were laid deep and broad. In the year 1853, he was called to an equally congenial literary task, one which might be said to have belonged to him almost by inheritance as well as by taste. On the occasion of the two-hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the town of Lancaster, Massachusetts, he was invited to deliver a commemorative Address, which was to form the chief feature of a day set apart for the festival. His former sketch of the town had been elaborated by him with characteristic thoroughness, and materials for its illustration steadily accumulated for years. The subject went, in his view, beyond the mere events of a local history. These were interesting, indeed; for the town, laid out with the liberal domain usual in the grants of that day, included within its fair proportions many square miles of territory, which had since been severed from it, to build up a large family of affiliated townships. But in the annals of this ancient settlement were exemplified the whole system of early colonization and of town organization, which De Tocqueville regarded as the foundation-stone of our free institutions; and its history drew from Mr. Willard a careful, masterly discussion of the subject, interwoven with the stirring events of which Lancaster had early been the scene, and made the whole a valuable addition to a true knowledge of the basis of our political system.

About the same time, Mr. Willard commenced writing the biography of General Knox, — a work undertaken at the desire of the family of the General, then represented by his only surviving daughter, Madam Thatcher, of Thomaston, Me., and upon the urgent solicitation of several friends, — among

others, the late Hon. Josiah Quincy and Judge Wilde,—and of William Minot, Esq., who, knowing his previous labors in this department of letters, and his accurate habits of mind, judged him to be the person most fit for this undertaking. It was a literary labor which had long been delayed, but which, from the prominence of Knox in our Revolutionary war, his intimate ties of friendship with General Washington, as well as from his pure personal character and lofty patriotism, seemed a duty owed to his memory. It was a labor which might well have appalled a professed *litterateur*, much more one who was obliged jealously to divide his hours of scholarly leisure with the engrossing claims of business. The enormous mass of papers, private and official, from which materials for the life were to be drawn, were in a state of great disorder, and the whole collection had narrowly escaped destruction,—actually sustaining serious injury, from the shipwreck of the vessel which, some years before, had conveyed them to Boston, by which they had been submerged for many hours; and the want of care at the successive hands through which they had passed had left them in almost inextricable confusion. Under the patient care of the biographer, the whole were reduced to an orderly chronological arrangement, and form a moderate-sized library of nearly eighty folio volumes.

As the work progressed, and the admirable traits of General Knox's character stood out in clear light, Mr. Willard warmed into a glow of enthusiasm towards his subject, and steadily carried forward the preparation of the Memoir; undismayed either by the magnitude of the undertaking, or the pittance of time which alone his daily more engrossing official duties allowed him to give to his voluntary task.

For some years after the commencement of the work, it advanced rapidly and prosperously towards completion, and five carefully written manuscript volumes attest at once the amplitude of the materials and the solid labor bestowed upon them; but the fatal inroads of the malady which terminated

Mr. Willard's life, gradually diminished his power to conclude the work, but neither his devotion to it, nor his deep interest in its achievement. Even to the very last days of his life, when months of physical suffering had deprived him of power to hold his manuscript for more than a moment at a time, he essayed to make the effort to add one more line to the pages he had so carefully penned, his indomitable will triumphing even over utter bodily exhaustion.

The Memoir remains unfinished; but it is now due, as well to the hand that wrought so long and so patiently to bring it to completion, as to the subject of the work himself, that toil so worthily bestowed should not fall to the ground, expended in vain.

Besides these more extended works, Mr. Willard, during his connection with this Society, prepared various historical papers. The one on "Naturalization in the American Colonies," and on a "Plan for the General Arrangement of the Militia of the United States, by General Knox," were among his latest offerings. The latter paper was a timely one, called forth by the occasions of the late war, then in its earlier stage, and contained many suggestions, made practical by the experience of General Knox, of great value to the nation then and now. With one exception, this was the last publication from Mr. Willard's pen.

The strongly conservative temperament which Mr. Willard inherited, existed in him side by side with an equally strong independence of nature, that made him almost intolerant of views based on mere notions of expediency and concession. Bred up as he had been in the ancient school of Federalism, he naturally was enrolled in the ranks of the Whig party, which retained alike the members and the principles of the earlier conservative organization; but he was always found among the keenest advocates of freedom, who could consistently be counted in its numbers. His own ideas of right, and of the reciprocal duties and relations of man to man, were

by nature so sharply defined, that he stood on antislavery ground at once and instinctively; and this question of freedom and slavery absorbed, with him, all minor political issues, as Aaron's rod devoured all the rest. As a young man, he might almost have been regarded as more conservative than in his later years, so strongly did his sustained energy of principle and progressive politics at this time contrast with the concessive moderation to which advancing years had cooled the youthful ardor of many of his friends. When at last the division of his party rendered concerted action impossible, and the choice between principle and party became inevitable, it required with him no long deliberation before he made his decision to cast in his lot with the small political body pledged to freedom, and then known as the Free-soil party; and in 1847 he was found among the pioneers of this cause, at a time when it required no inconsiderable moral courage to endure the alienation of friends, that often followed unqualified adhesion to the Antislavery side.

But the course of time was not long in bringing his justification. From being a member of an organization so numerically small, that it had hardly merited the name of a party, Mr. Willard lived to see its principles become the accepted doctrine of the country, the embodied sense of his own State and of the nation, and the centre of a movement so profound and so universal, that it upheaved the whole land in its onward progress. As the cloud of civil war gathered on the political horizon, it was almost welcomed by Mr. Willard, believing, as he did, that the sharpness of the remedy was indispensable to remove the evil, so deep-seated in the frame of the nation; and never doubting that the open hostility of the South would bring about the triumph of freedom far more speedily than our former tame acquiescence in the existing misgovernment, and constant attitude of concession to encroachments of pro-slavery leaders.

But while the strong and earnest convictions which had

grown into the very fibre of his being were at last receiving their fulfilment, through the sanguinary medium of national agony and struggle for life, his over-tasked strength began to waver and fail. For some years, an undefined and subtle malady had weakened his physical powers, — ascribed by his physicians to various causes, — all of which had only accelerated the action of the true cause, — severe confinement to official routine, and close application to scholarly toil. The progress of the disease was slow; so slow, indeed, that Mr. Willard was not warned to break off in time from the labor that undermined his strength, and seek relief in relaxation and rest. Sustained by a constitution of naturally wonderful vigor, he had never dealt leniently with his strength, or learned the painful lesson of care which the invalid soon acquires; but had merely turned from his business to take up his literary work, continued often far into the night, while the regularity of diet and exercise, which he always maintained with scrupulous care, did not give adequate re-invigoration to a frame demanding absolute rest, and change of scene. By degrees the long walks which his sons had shared as his companions were shortened or intermitted, and his annual month at the White Mountains failed to give the full renovating effect; but all this was so imperceptible, extending over half a score of years, that he was not apprehensive for himself, gave up no duty of private life, and pursued his labor on the "Life of General Knox" with unflagging zeal.

In the second year of the war, being then in correspondence with an English friend, he received from him a letter so filled with misconceptions of our national struggle and the position of the North, that he could not but vindicate in reply the cause for which he was ready to give his life, and set, as fully as he could, the question fairly before his friend. He wrote with so much force and clearness, and so thoroughly dissipated the cloud of misrepresentations with

which jealousy and ignorance abroad had sought to overwhelm our cause, that his correspondent at once had the letter published in a leading English paper, from whose columns it was extensively circulated. A copy being sent to this country, it was republished by request, in a pamphlet form, and widely disseminated; and it ranks with the admirable productions of Motley, Stillé, and Loring, which succeeded it. But Mr. Willard did not give merely time and the labors of his pen to the cause: his hand was always open to contribute and lavishly bestow relief, in response to, and oftentimes in anticipation of, the varying calls which our public necessities then made on individual liberality; and he gave almost beyond his means. But it was a cause in which he did not know economy.

In the darkest hour of our national distress, his eldest son, Major Sidney Willard, after a brief service of four months, fell in his first battle, the gloomy defeat at Fredericksburg. After this, Mr. Willard's health declined rapidly; and, although no murmur escaped his lips, yet the disease, which had heretofore only preyed upon his physical strength, assailed in turn his mind and benumbed his faculties, rendering their exercise a painful tax upon his bodily powers; until, after two years of suffering, death gently released the wearied spirit from its prison. He departed this life, May 12, 1865, at the age of sixty-seven years.

His last labor was the preparation of a brief Memoir of the beloved son whom he had lost, compiled chiefly from letters written by him while in the field.

In a life so quiet and remote from the public eye as his, it may not be deemed out of place to set forth briefly some of his more prominent traits of character; and these cannot better be presented than in the well-considered words of his cherished friend and pastor, the Rev. Dr. Bartol, contained in a discourse delivered in the West Church, in Boston, on the occasion of his death: —

"He was the righteous man whose portrait is drawn with brief, expressive touches in the Psalm I have read to you. Truly, his delight was in the law of the Lord. Deeply religious, constantly worshipful, the pulpit no surer to be occupied than his pew,—among the first philanthropists in that great enterprise of humanity, whose prosperity he lived to see,—he was a Puritan patriot; the cordial gravity of the old school in his manner, and one of the early Christians in the style of his faith; and who lived as he believed. None who knew him but must have felt as one thing the upright beauty of the body and the soul,—as impossible to doubt the correctness of the angles of a crystal, as the lines of his integrity; from the fair outside of his ripe moral behavior, sound to the core; in the man's bosom, a heart beating soft as a maiden's and innocent as a child's, yet he was a pillar of strength upon which all near him loved to lean. I feel that he died as in his prime; yet I cite him as an example of conspicuous success,—not of the gross, worldly sort, certainly, but of success the rarest and most refined; of an unspotted fame, with a circle of friends at no point broken or darkened; a happy home, and children that loved and obeyed their parents; and with a name for honor as long as memory shall last."

The President, in behalf of the Standing Committee, to whom was referred, with full power, the subject of the manuscript history of Bacon's "Rebellion," printed in the first volume of the Second Series of the Collections, and the proposition that an accurate copy of the paper be secured before its restoration to the Virginia Historical Society, made the following report:—

That the printed copy has been carefully compared with the original manuscript, by the Assistant Librarian, and found to contain numerous errors of orthography and punctuation, besides others still more important; the whole number of errata amounting to several thousands, no less than seventy having been detected on a single page. Not only are single words transposed or omitted, but whole sentences, and even the last two pages (which are somewhat mutilated), are not printed. In many instances where the manuscript is obscure, words are interpolated, sometimes changing entirely the sense of the paragraph or sentence.

The required corrections have been made in a copy of the volume; and, in view of their number and importance, the Committee recommend, that the paper be reprinted by the Society.*

THE HISTORY OF BACON'S AND INGRAM'S REBELLION.

The Indians Proseedings.

for there owne security. They found that there store was too short to indure a long Seige, with out makeing emty belles and that emty belies, makes weake hearts, which all ways makes an unfit Serving Man to wâte upon the God of war. Therefore they were resalue, before that there spirits were downe, to doe what they could to keepe there stores up; as oppertunity should befriend them. And all though they were by the Law of Arms (as the case now stood) prohibited the hunting of wilde Deare, they resalued to see what good might be don by hunting tame Horses. Which trade became their sport soe loñ, that those who came on Horsback to the seige, began to feare the should be compelled to trot hom a foot, and glad if they scap'd so too: for these beleagured blades made so many salleys, and the beseigers kep such negligent gards, that there was very few days past without som remarkeable mischeife. But what can hould out all ways? euen stone walls yeilds to the not to be gaine-saide summons of time. And all though it is saide that the Indians doth the least minde their Bellies (as being content with a litle) of any people in the world, yet now there bellies began to minde them, and there stomachs too, which began to be more inclineable to peace, then war; which was the cause (no more Horss flesh being to be had) that they sent out 6 of their Worawances (cheife men) to commence a treaty. What the Artickles were, that they brought aloñ with them, to treat of, I do not know; but certainly they were so unacceptable to the English, that they caused the Commissioners braines to be knock'd out, for dictateing so badly to there tongues; which yet, 'tis possible, exprest more reason then the English had, to prove the lawfullness of this action, being Diametre recall to the Law of Arms.

A neglected seige.

The Indians send out . . . there cheif men to . . .

* The history is accordingly here printed. For a description of the manuscript, see p. 342, note. Where dots are inserted, the manuscript is either torn or illegible; where brackets are used, the words are supplied by the Editors; where the original is indistinct, italics are employed. — Eds.

The Indians
forsake [the]
Fort.

This strange action put those in the Fort to there trumps, haueing thus lost som of their prime court cards, without a faire dealeing. They could not well tell what interpretation to *put upon it* (nor indeed, nobody ells) and very faine they wo[uld] . . . why those, whom they sent out with a [view] to *suplicate* a peace should be worss delt with then [those who] were sent out with a sword to denounce a war; but, [no one] could be got to make inquirye into the reason of this . . . which put them upon a ressalution to forsake there [station, and] not to expostulate the cause any further. Haueing [made] this ressalution, and destroyed all things in the fort, that might be servisable to the English, they bouldly, undiscovered, slip through the Leagure (leaving the English to prosecute the seige, as Schogin's wife brooded the eggs that the Fox had suck'd) in the passing of which they knock'd ten men o'th head, who lay carelessly asleep in there way.

The Indians
resolue to re-
venge them-
selves on the
English.

Now all though it might be saide that the Indians went there ways emty handed, in regard they had left all there plunder and welth behinde them in the fort, yet it cannot be thought that they went away emty hearted: For though that was pritty well drained from it's former curage, through those inconvenencies that they had bin subjected to, by the seige, yet in y^e roome thereof, rather then the venticles should lie voide, they had stowed up so much mallize, entermixt with a ressalution of revenge, for the affrunt that the English had put upon them, in killing there messingers of peace, that they resalued to commence a most barbarous and most bloody war.

The Indians
... to just-
fy there Pro-
ceedings.

The Beseigers haueing spent a grate deale of ill employed time in pecking at the huske, and now findeing the shell open, and mising the expected prey, did not a litle woonder what was be com of the lately impounded Indinans, who, though at present the could not be seene, yet it was not long before that they were heard off, and felt too. For in a very short time they had, in a most inhumane maner, murdered no less then 60 innocent people, no ways guilty of any actuall injury don to these ill disarning, brutish heathen. By the blood of these poore soules, they thought that the wandering ghosts of those there Commissioners, before mentioned, might be atton'd, and lade downe to take there repose in the dismall shades of death, and they, at present, not obliged for to prosecute any further revenge. Therefore to prove whether the English was as redy for a peace, as themselves, they send in there remonstrance in the name of there [Chief, (ta)ken by an English interpreter,] unto the Governour [of Verg]inia, with whom he expostulates in this sort. Wh[at was it] that moved him to take up

Arms, against him, his pr[ofessed] friēd, in the behalfe of the Marylanders, his profes[sed ene]mies, contrary to that league made betwene [him] and himselfe? Declares as well his owne as su[bjects] greife to finde the Verginians, of Friēds, without any cause giuen, to become his foes, and to be so eager in their groundless quarill, as to persew the chase into anothers dominions: Complaines, that his mesingers of peace, were not oneley murdered by the English, but the fact countinanced by the Governour's Connivance: For which, seeing no other ways to be satisfied, he had revenged him self, by killing 10 for one of the Verginians, such being the disperportion betwene his grate men murder'd, and those, by his command, slane. That now, this being don, if that his honour would alow him a valluable satisfaction for the damage he had sustained by the war, and no more concerne himselfe in the Marylanders quarill, he was content to renew and confirm the ancient league of amety; other ways him selfe, and those whom he had ingaged to his intress (and there owne) were resalued to fite it out to the last man.

These proposealls not being assented to by the English, as being derogatory and point blanke, both to honour and intress, these Indians draw in others (formerly in subjection to the Verginians) to there aides: which being conjoynd (in seperate and united parties) they dayly committed abundance of ungarded and un revenged murthers, upon the English; which they perpetrated in a most barberous and horid maner. By which meanes abundance of the Fronteare Plantations became eather depopulated by the Indians crulety[sic], or desarted by the Planters feares, who were compelled to forsake there abodes, to finde security for there lives; which they were not to part with, in the hands of y^e Indiands, but under the worst of torments. For these brutish and inhumane brutes, least their cruelties might not be thought cruill enough, they devised a hundred ways to torter and torment those poore soules with, whose reched fate it was to fall in to there unmercyfull hands. For som, before that they would deprive them of there lives, they would take a grate deale of time to deprive them first of there skins, and if that life had not, throug[h] the ang[uish] of there paine, forsaken there tormented bodyes, they [with] there teeth (or som instrument,) teare the nailes of [their fingers and their] toes, which put the poore sufferer to a wo[ful] condition. One was prepared for the fla[m]es at Iames Towne, who indured [much, but found means] to escape. Those who had the another world, was to haue to be attributed to there more then can

The Re . . .
trance . . .
by the . . .

The Cruel-
ties of y^e In-
diands.

..... xpire with ... or other wayes to be slane out rite, for least that there Deaths should be attributed unto som more mercyfull hands then theares, for to put all out of question, they would leaue som of there brutish Markes upon there fenceless bodies, that might testifye it could be none but they who had committed the fact.

And now it was that the poore distressed and dubly afflicted Planters began to curss and execrate that ill manidged buisness at the Fort. There cryes were reitterated againe and againe, both to God and man for releife. But no appeareance of long wish'd for safety arising in the Horrison of there hopes, they were redy, could they haue tould which way, to leaue all and forsake the Collony; rather then to stay and be expos'd to the crewiltys of the barberous heathen.

Forts to be
[built].

At last it was concluded, as a good expedient for to put the countrey in to som degree of safety, for to plant Forts upon the Fronteres, thinkeing there by to put a stop unto the Indians excursions: which after the expence of a grate deale of time and charge, being finished, came short of the designed ends. For the Indians quickly found out where about these Mouse traps were sett, and for what purpose, and so resalued to keepe out of there danger; which they might easely enough do, with out any detriment to there designs. For though here by they were compeld (tis posible) to goe a litle about, yet they never thought much of there labour, so long as they were not debar'd from doing of Mischeife; which was not in the power of these forts to prevent: For if that the English did, at any time, know that there was more ways in to the wood then one, to kill Deare, the Indians found more then a thousand out of the wood, to kill Men, and not com neare the danger of the forts neather.

Not valued
by the In-
dians.

The small good that was by most expected, and now by [them expe]rienc'd from these useless fabricks (or castells, if a ... a marvelous discontent amongst the people. ... the charge would be grate, and the benifitt ... arise out of these wolfe-pi came every day losers; and Banke, if it do not inc to cast about for so lost. It vext t[he hearts of many tha they should] be compeld to worke all the day, (nay all the yeare), for to reward those Mole-catchers at the forts, (no body knew for what,) and at night could not finde a place of safety to lie downe in, to rest there wery bones, for feare they should be shatter'd all to peices by the Indians; upon which consideration the thought it best to petition the downe fall of these useless (and like to be) chargeable fabricks, from whose continuance they could neather expect proffitt nor safety.

But for the effecting of this buisness, they found them selues under a very grate disadvantage. For though it may be more easier to cast downe, then irect, well cemented structurcs, yet the rule doth not hould in all cases. For it is to be understood that these Forts were contrived, eather by the sole command of the Governour, or other ways by the advice of those whose judgments, in this affaire, he approved off; eather of which was now, they being don, his owne emediate act, as they were don in his name; which to haue undon, at the simple request of the people, had bin, in efect, to haue undon that Repute he all ways held, in the peoples judgment, for a wise Man; and better that they should suffer som small inconvenencies, then that he should be counted less diserning then those, who, till now, were counted more then halfe blinde. Besides, how should he satisfie his honour with the undertakers of the worke? If the peoples petition should be granted, they must be disapointed, which would haue bin litle less then an undoeing to thē allsoe, in there expectation of proffitt to be raised from the worke. Here by the people quickly found them selues in an error, when that they apprehended what a strong foundation the Forts were irected upon, honour and proffitt, against which all there saping and mineing had no power to over turne; they haueing no other ingredience to makeing up there fire works with but prayers, and miss spent teares and intreties; which haueing vented to no purpose, and finding there condition every whit as bad, if not worse since, as before, the forts were made, they resalued . . . le patience was set to worke.

. many to hope in the countin- of no long being in the cou- state; and nerely related to one gnity. A Man he was of larger hich rendred him indeared (if not not for any thing he had yet don, as the cause of there affections, but what they expected he would doe to disarve there devotion; while with no common zeale, they send up there reitterated prayers, first to him self, and next to Heaven, that he may becom there Gardian Angle, to protect them from the cruelties of the Indians, against whom this Gent:man had a perfect antipothey.

It seemes, in the first rise of the War, this Gent:man had made som overtures, unto the Governour, for a Commission, to go and put a stop to the Indians proseedings. But the Governour, at present, eather not willing to commence the quarill (on his part) till more suteable reasons prisented, for to urge his more severe prosecution of the same, against the heathen: or that he douted Bacons temper, as he appear'd

The Forts
disliked by
the English.

Bacon ap-
[pe]ars
against the
Indians.

Baron
advanceth
against the
Indian.

Popularly inclin'd: A constetution not consistant with the times, and the peoples di-positions; being generally discontented, for want of timely provisions against the Indians, or for Anuall impositions lade upon them, too grate (as they saide) for them to beare, and against which they had som considerable time complained, without the least redress. For these, or som other reasons, the Governour refused to comply with Bacon's proposalls. Which he lookeing upon as an undervalluing as well to his parts, as a disperidgment to his pretentions, hee in som elated and passionate expressions, sware Commission or no Commission, the next man or woman that he heard of that should be kild by the Indians, he would goe out against them, though but 20 men would adventure the servis with him. Now it so unhappylie fell out, that the next person that the Indians did kill, was one of his owne ffamily. Where upon haueing got together som 70 or 80 persons, most good Howsekeepers, well armed, and seeing that he could not legally procure a Commission (after som struglings with the Governour (... Scuffell) and som of his best friends, co... terprise, he applies hi his oath, and so forth ana.

... W. dis-
gust... at
Bacon's ...
ceedings.

The Governour could not this insolent deportment of Bac ed at his proceedings. Which insteade of seekeing meanes to appease his anger, they devised meanes to increase it, by frameing specious pretences, which they grounded upon the bouldness of Bacons actions, and the peoples affections. They began (som of them) to haue Bacons Merits in mistrust, as a Luminary that thretned an eclips to there riseing gloryes. For though he was but a yong man, yet they found that he was master and owner of those induments which constitutes a Compleate Man, (as to intrincecalls) wisdom to apprehend and descretion to chuse. By which imbelishments (if he should continue in the Governours favour) of Seniours they might becom juniours, while there yonger Brother, through the nimbleness of his wit, might steale away that blessing, which they accounted there owne by birth-right. This rash proseedings of Bacon, if it did not undo himselfe, by his faileing in the enterprise, might chance to undo them in the affections of the people; which to prevent, they thought it conduceable to there intrress and establishment, for to get y^e Governour in the minde to proclame him a Rebell; as knowing that once being don, since it could not be don but by and in the Governours name, it must needs breed bad blodd betwene Bacon and S^r William, not easely to be purged. For though S^r William might forgieue, what Bacon, as yet, had acted; yet it might be questionable whether Bacon might forget

what Sir William had don: However, according to there desires, ^{Forces . . . to reduce Bacon.} Bacon and all his adhereance was proclaimed a Rebelle, May the 29, and forces raised to reduce him to his duty. With which the Governour advanced from the Midle Plantation* to finde him out, and if neede was to fight him, if the Indians had not knock'd him, and those with him, on the head, as som were in hope they had don, and which by som was ernistly desired.

After som few days the Governour retracts his march, (a jurnye of som 30 or 40 miles) to meet with the Assembly, now redy to sit downe at our Metropolls, while Bacon in the meane time meets with the Indians, upon whom he falls with abundance of ressalution and gallentrey (as his owne party relates it) in there fastness; killing a grate many, and blowing up there Magazene of Arms and Pouder, to a considerable quantity . . . y his self, no less then 4000 weight. This [being done, and all his] Proviissions spent, he returns hom to his . . . e, where he submits him selfe to be chosen Bur[gess of t]he County in which he did live, contrary to his qualifications, take him as he was formerly one of the Councill of State, or as hee was now a proclaimed Rebelle. How ever, he applyes him selfe to the performance of that trust reposed in him, by the people, if he might be admited into the Howse. But this not faging according to his desire, though according to his expectation, and he remaneing in his slooppe, (then at Ancor before the Towne) in which was about 30 Gent:men besides himselfe, he was there surprised with the rest, and made prissoner, som being put into Irons: in which condition they remaned som time, till all things were fitted for the triall. Which being brought to a day of heareing, before the Governour and Councill, Bacon was not onely acquitted and pardoned all misdemeniors, but restored to the Councill Table as before; and not onely, but promised to haue a Commission signed the Monday following (this was on the Saterdag) as Generall for the Indian war, to the universall satisfaction of the people, who passionately desired the same; witnessed by the ginerall acclameations of all then in towne. ^{Bacon taken prisoner.} ^{Brought upon his triall and acquitted.} ^{June 10. promised a Commission.}

And here who can do less then wonder at the muteable and impermenent deportments of that blinde Godes Fortune; who, in the morning loades Man with disgraces, and ere night crownes him with honours: Somtimes depressing, and againe ellivateing, as her fickle humer is to smile or frowne, of which this Gen:mans fate was a kinde

* Williamsburg. See Beverly's History of Virginia. — Eds.

The Govern-
no[ur] refus-
eth to signe
the Commis-
sion.

Bacon dis-
gusted.

of an Epittemey, in the severall vicissetudes and changes he was subjected to in a very few dayes. For in the morning, before his triall, he was, in his Enimies hopes, and his Friends feares, judged for to receue the Gurdian due to a Rebell (and such hee was proclaimed to be) and ere night, crowned the Darling of the Peoples hopes and desires, as the onely man fitt in Verginia, to put a stop unto the bloody ressalutions of the Heathen: And yet againe, as a fuller manifestation of Fortune's inconstancye, with in two or three days, the peoples hopes, and his desires, were both frusterated by the Governours refusing to signe the promised Commission. At which being disgusted, though at present he desembled . . . so well as he could, (and tis supposed that w . . . he beggs leaue of the Governour for to be despence . . . his servis at the Councell table, to vissit his L . . . he saide, had informed him, was indisposed, as to her . . . which request the Governour (after som contest with his owne thoughts) granted, contrary to the advise of som about him, who suspected Bacons designes, and that it was not so much his Lady's sickness, as the distempers of a troubled minde, that caused him to with draw to his owne house, and that this was the truth, with in a few days was manifested, when that he returned to Towne at the head of 500 Men in Arms.

Bacon re-
turnes to
Towne at the
head of 500
men, and
forecath a
Commission.

The Governour did not want intillegence of Bacons designes, & therefore sent out his summons for Yorke Traine Bands to reinforce his guards, then at Towne. But the time was so short, (not above 12 howers warning) and those that appeared at the Randevouze made such a slender number, that under 4 Insignes there was not mustered above 100 Soulders, and not one halfe of them sure neather, and all so slugish in there march, that before they could reach towne, by a grate deale, Bacon had enter'd the same, and by force obtained a Commition, calculated to the hight of his owne desires. With which Commission, (such as it was,) being invested, hee makes redy his provisions, fills up his Companies to the designed number (500 in all) and so applies him selfe to those servises the Countrey expected from him. And, first, for y^e securing the same from the excursions of the Indians, in his absence (and such might be expected) he commissioned severall persons, (such as he could confide in) in every respectiue county, with select companies of well armed men, to range the Forists, swompe, thickits, and all such suspected places where the Indiands might have any shelter for the doeing of mischeife. Which proseedings of his put so much curage into the Planters, that they began to applye them selues to there accustomed imployments in there plantations: which

till now they durst not do, for feare of being knock'd on the head, as, God knowes, too many were, before these orders were observed.

While the Generall (for so was Bacon now denominated by vertue of his Commission) was sedulous in these affaires, & fitting his provisions, about the head of Yorke River, in order to his advance against the Indians; the Governour was steareing quite contrary courses. He was once more perswaded (but for what reasons not visible) to proclaime Bacon a Rebell againe. And now since his absence afforded an advantage, to raise the countrey upon him, so soone as he should returne tired and exhausted by his toyle and labour in the Indian war. For the puting this councill in execution, the Governour steps ouer into Gloster County, (a place the best replenished for men, arms, and affections of any County in Verginia,) all which the Governour summons to giue him a meeteing at a place & day assigned, where being met, according to the summons, the Governours proposalls was so much disrellished, by the wholl convention, that they all disbanded to there owne aboades, after there promise past to stand by, and assist the Governoure, against all those who should go about to rong, eather his parson, or debase his Authority; unto which promise they annex, or subioyned severall reasons why they thought it not, at present, convenient to declare them selues against Bacon, as he was now advanceing against the common enemy, who had in a most barbarous maner murthered som hundreds of o^r deare Breatheren and Countrey Men, and would, if not prevented by God, and the endeivours of good men, do there utmost for to cut of the wholl Collony. Therefore they did thinke that it would be a thing inconsistent with reason, if that they, in this desperate coniuncture of time, should go and ingage themselves one against another; from the result of which proceedings, nothing could be expected but ruing and destruction unto both, to the one and the other party, since that it might reasonably be conceued, that while they should be exposinge there breasts against one anothers wepons, the barbarous and common enemy (who would make his disadvantages [*sic*] by our disadvantages) should be upon there backs to knock out there brains. But if it should so hapen (as they did hope it would never so hapen) that the Generall after the Indian war was finished, should attempt any thing against his Hon^r person or Government, that then they would rise up in arms, with a joynt consent, for the prisarvation of both.

The Governour summons in the Gloster men to the Court house.

The Glosters men's protestation.

Since the Governour could obtaine no more, he was, at present, to rest himselfe contented with this, while those who had advised him to

Bacon pro-
[claimed a
Tratour.

these undertakings, was not a litle dissatisfide to finde the event not to answer there expectations. But he at present, seeing there was no more to be don, since he wanted a power to haue that don, which was esteemed the maine of the affaires, now in hand to be don, namely, the gaineing of the Gloster men, to do what he would haue don, he thought it not amiss to do what he had a power to do, and that was once more to proclame Bacon a Tratour, which was performed in all publick places of meetings in these parts. The noyse of which proclameation, after that it had past the admiration of all that were not acquainted with the reasons that moued his hon^r to do what he had now don, soone reached the Generall eares, not yet stopt up from lisning to apparent dangers.

This strange and unexpected news put him, and som with him, shrodely to there trumps, beleveing that a few such deales, or shuffles (call them which you please) might quickly ring the cards, and game too, out of his hand. He perceued that he was falne (like the corne betwene the stones) so that if he did not looke the better about him, he might chance to be ground to powder. He knew that to haue a certaine enmy in his frunt, and more then uncertaine friends in his reare, portended no grate security from a violent death, and that there could be no grate differance betwene his being wounded to death in his brest, with bows and Arows, or in the back with Guns and Musquit bullits. He did see that there was an abseluted necessity of destroy-ing the Indians, for the prisarvation of the English, and that there was som care to be taken for his owne and soulders safety, otherways that worke must be ill don, where the laberours are mad criples, and compeld, insteade of a sword, to betake them selues to a c[ru]lch. It vext him to the hērt (as he was heard to say) f[or] to thinke, that while he was a hunting Wolves, Tygers and Foxis, which dayly destroyed our ha[r]mless Sheep and Lamb[s,] that hee, and those with him, should be persued in the re[are], with a full crye, as a more salvage or no less rave[nous] beast. But to put all out of doubt, and himselfe into . . . gree of safety, since he could not tell but that som [whom] he had left behinde, might not more desire his de[ath,] then to here that by him the Indians were dest[royed, he] forth with (after a short consultation held with [som of his soulders] countermarcheth his Army, and in a trice [] with them at the midle Plantation,* a place sit[uated in the] very heart of the Countrey.

* Williamsburg. — Eds.

The first thing that Bacon fell upon (after [that he had] settled himself at the Middle Plantation) was [to prepare] his Remonstrance, and that as well against [the Governours] Paper of the 29 of May, as in answer to th[e Governours pro]clamation. Putting both papers upon these D[eclarations, he asks] Whether Parsons wholly devoted to there Kin[g and coun]treys, haters of all sinister, and by respects, am[ing on]ly at the Countreys good, and indeiouring to th[e utmost of there] power, to the haserd of there lives & fortunes, . . . destroy those that are in Arms against King & . . . that never plotted, contrived, nor indeioured . . . ion, detrement or rong of any of his Majesties [subjects, in] there lives, names, fortunes, or estates, can desarue the appellations of Rebels and Traters? He cites the wholl country to testifie his & his soulders peaceable behaviours; upbrades som in Authorety with the meanness of there parts; others, now welthey, with the meanness of there estates, when the came first in to the Country; and questions by what just ways, or meanes, they haue obtained the same; and whether they haue not bin the sponges that haue suck'd up & devoured the common tresūrye? Questions what Arts, Ciencies, Schooles of learning or Ma[n]ufactēres hath bin promoted by any now in Authorety? Iustifies his aversion (in generall) against the Indians; Upbrades the Governour for manetaineing there quarill (though never so unjust) against the Christians rites and intres; His refusing to admit an English man's oath against an Indian, when that an [In]dians word shall be a sufficient prooffe against an [En]glish Man: Saith som thing against the Governour [con]cerning the Beaver trade, as not in his power to de . . . off, as being a Monopley appertaineing to the Cro[wn]: Questions whether the Traders at the heads of the . . . s do not buy & sell the blood of there deare Brther . . . untrey men: Araignes one Coll: Coles ascertainment [for sayi]ng that the English are bound to protect the Ind[ians] . . . or to the haserd of there blood; and so conclu[des] [with a]n appeale to King and Parliament, where he [has no doubt] but that his and the Peoples cause will be im[partially h]eard.

[Bacon's declaration.]

[After this manner] the Game begins, in which (though never so . . . the one side must be, undoubtedly, losers. This . . . nce of Bacons was but the Præludum (or rath . . . e) to the following Chapter; without which the . . . t (in peoples mindes) be subject to rong interpre . . . other ways look'd upon to be, at best, but Hetro . . . he inditers good meaneing.

. . . his next worke was to invite all that had [any regar]d to them-

selues, or love to there Countrey, the . . . Children, or any other relations; to giue [him a meeting] in his Quarters, at a day named, then and the[re to consu]lt how to put the countrey in to som degree of safety, and to indeuoure for to stop those imminent dangers, now thretning the destruction of the wholl Collony, through the bloody proceedings of the Indians; and (as he said) by S^r William B. doteing and ireguler actings. Desireing of them not to sit still, in this common time of callamitye, with there hands in there bosums; or as unconcer'd spectators, stand gazeing upon their approcheing ruyns, and not lend a hand to squench those flames now likely to consume them and theres to ashes.

According to the summons, most of the prime Gen^l.men in these parts, (where of som were of the Councell of State) gaue Bacon a meeteing in his quarters, at y^e assigned time. Where being met (after a long Harange by him made, much of the nature of, and to explane the summons) he desired them to take the same so far in to there consideration, that there might, by there wisdom, som expedient [be] found out, as well for the countreyes securytie against S^r Williams Ireguler proseedings, as that hee, and Armye, might unmolest prosecute the Indian war. Ading, that neather him selfe, nor those under his command, thought it a thing consisting with reason, or common sence, to advance against the common Enemy, and in the meane time want insureance (when they had don the worke abroad) not to haue their throtes cut, when they should return hom, by those whoe had set them to worke: being confident that S^r William and som others with him, through a sence of their unworantable actions, would do what was possible to be don, not onely to destroy himself, but others (privie to their knavereys) now ingaged in the Indian servis with him.

After that Bacon had urg'd, what he thought meet for y^e better carying on of those affaires, now hammering in his head, it was concluded by the wholl Convention, that for y^e establishing the Generall, and Army, in a consistancy of safety, and that as well upon his march against the Indians, as when that he should returne from the servis, and allso for the keepeing the Countrey in peace, in his absence, that there should be a test, or recognition, drawne, and subscribed by the wholl Countrey, which should oblige then [*sic*] and every of them, not to be aideing nor assisting to S^r Will. Berkley (for now he would not afford him the title of Governour) in any sorte, to the molestation, hinderance or detriment of the Ginerall and Army. This being as-

sented to, the Clarke of the Assembly was ordred to put the same in to forme; which while he was a doeing, the Generall would needs haue another branch added to the former, viz. That the people should not onely be obliged not to be aideing unto S^r W: B. against the Generall, but that by the force of this Recognition, they should be obliged to rise in Arms against him, if he with armed forces should offer to resist the Generall, or desturb the Countries peace, in his absence: and not onely so, but (to make the ingagement Al-a-mode [*sic*] Rebellion) he would haue it added, that if any forces should be sent out of England, at y^e request of S^r William, or other ways to his aide, that they were likewise to be aposed, till such time as the Countrys cause should be sent hom, and reported to his most Sacred Majesty.

The Oath projected.

These two last branches of this Bugbeare did marvellously startle the people, especially the very last of all, yet for to giue the Generall satisfaction how willing they were to give him all the security that lay in there power, they seemed willing to subscribe the two first, as they stood single, but not to any, if the last must be joyned with them. But y^e Generall used, or urged, a grate many reasons for the signeing the wholl ingagement, as it was presented in the three conjoyned branches, other ways no securitye could be expected, neather to the Countrey, Armye, nor himselfe: therefore he was resalued, if that they would not do, what hee did judg soe reasonable, and necessary to be don, in and about the premises, that he would surrender up his Commission to the Assembly, and let the countrey finde som other servants to goe abrode and do there worke.

For, sath he, it is to be considered, that S^r William hath allredy proclaimed me a Rebell, and it is not unknowne to himselfe that I both can, and shall charge him with no less then Treason. And it is not my selfe onely, that must and is concerned in what shall be charged against him, but severall Gen^r:men in the countrey, besides; who now are, and ever will be against his intress, and of those that shall adhere to his illegall proceedings: of which he being more then ordnarely senceable, it cannot in common reason be otherways conceued, but that he being assisted by those forces, now implored, that they shall not be wholly employed to the destruction of all those capeable to frame an accusation against him, to his sacred Majesty. Neather can it reasonably be apprehended, that he will ever condesend to any friendly accomadation wth those that shall subscribe to all, or any part of this ingagement, unless such or such persons shall be surrendred up to his marcy, to be proseeded against, as he shall thinke fitt: and then

Bacons reasons for y^e takinge the oath.

how many, or few, those may be, whom he shall make choyce of, to be sent into the tother world, that he may be rid of his feares in this, may be left to consideration.

Many things was (by many, of those who were at this meeting) urged pro and con, concerning the takeing or not takeing of the ingagement: But such was the ressalute temper of the Generall, against all reasoning to the contrary, that y^e wholl must be swallowed, or ells no good would be don. In the urging of which he used such specious and subtile pretences; som times for the pressing, and not to be despenced with necessity, in regarde of those feares the wholl Colony was subjected to through the daly murthers perpetrated by the Indians, and then againe opening the harmlesness of the Oath, as he would haue it to be, and which he manidged solely against a grate many of those counted the wisest men in the Countrey, with so much art and sophisticall dixerety, that at length there was litle said, by any, against the same: Especially when that the Guner of York Fort arived, imploreing aide to secure the same against the Indians; ading that there was a grate many poore people fled into it for protection, which could not be, unless there was som speedy course taken to reinforce the said Fort, with Munition and Arms, other ways it, and those fled to it, would go nere hand to fall in to the power of the Heathen.

The Generall was som what startled at this newes, & accordingly expostulated the same, how could it posible be that the most considerabest fortis in the countrey, should be in danger to be surprised by the Indians. But being tould that the Governour, the day before, had caused all the Arms and Amunition to be conveyed out of the Fort into his owne vessell, with which he was saled forth of the Countrey, as it was thought, it is strange to thinke, what impressions this Story made upon the peoples apprehensions. In ernist this action did stager a grate many, otherways well inclined to S^r William, who could not tell what constructions to put upon it. How ever, this was no grate disadvantage to Bacons designes; he knew well enough how to make his advantages out of this, as well as he did out of the Gloster bűsness, before mentioned, by frameing and stomping out to the peoples apprehensions what commentaries, or interpretations, he pleased, upon the least oversight by the Governour committed; which hee managed with so much cuning & subtillety, that the peoples minds became quickly flexible, and apt to receue any impression, or simillitude, that his Arguments should represent to there ill disarneing judgments; in so much that the Oath became now more smooth, and glib, to be swol-

The oath
taken.

lowed, even by those who had the gratest repugnancy against it; so that there was no more descorses used neather for restrictions nor enlargements; onely this salvo was granted, unto those who would clame the benifit of it (and som did soe) yet not exprest in the writen copey (viz.) That if there was any thing in the same of such dangerous consequence that might tant the subscribers Alegence, that then they should stand absalued from all and every part of the s^d oath; unto which the Generall gave his consent (and certainly he had too much cuning to denye, or gaine say it) saying God forbid that it should be other ways ment, or intended; adding that himselfe (and Armye by his command) had, som few days before taken the Oath of Alegience, therefore it could not Rationally be immagined that eather him selfe, or them, would goe about to act, or do, any thing contrary to the meaneing of the same.

Bad Ware requires a darke store, while Sleeke and Pounce inveagles the Chapmans judgment. Though the first subscribers were indulged the liberty of entering there exceptions, against the strict letter of the oath, yet others who were to take the same before the respectiue justices of peace in their severall jurisdictions, were not to haue y^e same latitude. For the power of affording cautions, and exceptions, was solely in the imposer, not in those who should here after administer the oath, whereby the aftertakers were obliged to swallow the same (though it might haserd there choakeing) as it stood in the very letter thereof. Neather can I apprehend what benifit could posible accrew more unto those who were indulged, the fore s^d previllidg, then to those who were debard the same; since both subscribed the ingagement as it stood in the letter, not as it was in the meaneing of the subscriber. It is trew, before God and there owne coñciences, it might be pleadeable, but not at the Bar of humane proseedings, with out a favourable interpretation put upon it, by those who were to be the judges.

While Bacon was contriuing, and imposing this Illegall Oath, for to secure him selfe against the Gouvernour, the Gouvernour was no less sollicitous to finde out meanes to secure him selfe against Bacon. There-fore, as the onely place of securytie, within the Collony, to keep out of Bacons reach, he sales over to Accomack. This place is sequestered from the mane part of Verginia through the enterposition of the grate Bay of Cheispiock, being itselfe an Isthmus, and commonly called the Eastern shore. It is bounded on the East with the maine oacian, and on the Sowth west with the afore s^d Bay, which runs up into the countrey navigable for the biggest Ships more then 240 miles, and so

St W. sales
to Accomack.

consequently, not approcheable from the other parts of Verginia but by water, without surrounding the head of the s^d Bay: A labour of toyle, time, and danger, in regard of the way, and habitations of the Indians.

Bland &
Carver sent
to Accomack.

It was not long before Bacon was inform'd where the Governour had taken Sanctuary; neather was he ignorant what it was that moved him to do what he had don: He did all so apprehend that, as he had found the way out, he could (when he saw his owne time) finde the way in againe; and though he went forth with an emty hand he might return with a full fist. For the preventing of which (as he thought) he despach'd away one Esq^r. Bland, a Gent^lman of an active and stirring disposition, and no grate admirer of S^r. Williams goodness; and with him, in Commission, one Capt. Carver, a person acquainted with Navigation, and one (as they say) indebted to S^r. W. (before he dyed) for his life, upon a duple account, with forces in two ships, eather to block S^r. William up in Accomack, or other ways to inveagle the inhabitants (thinkeing that all the countrey, like the Friere in the Bush, must needs be soe mad as to dance to there Pipe) to surrender him up in to there hands.

Bacon ad-
vanceth
against the
Indians.

Bacon haueing sent Bland, and the rest, to doe this servis, once more re-enters upon his Indian march; after that he had taken order for the conveyeing an Assembly, to sit downe on the 4 of September, y^e Summons being Authentick'd, as they would haue it, under the hands of 4 of the Councell of State; and y^e reason of the Convention to manidge the affaires of y^e Countrey in his absence; least (as he saide) while hee went abroad to destroy the Wolves, the Foxes, in the meane time, should com and devoure the Sheepe. Hee had not march'd many miles, from his head quarters, but that newes came post hast, that Bland and the rest with him, were snapt at Accomack; be-trade (as som of there owne party related) by Capt. Carver: but those who are best able to render an account of this affaire do aver, that there was no other Treason made use of but there want of discretion, assisted by the juce of the Grape: had it bin other ways the Governour would never rewarded the servis with y^e gift of a Halter, which he honoured Carver with, sudenly after his surpriseall. Bland was put in Irons, and ill intreated, as it was saide; most of the soulders owned the Governours cause, by entering them selues in to his servis; those that refused were made prissoners, and promised a releasement at the price of Carvers fate.

Carver taken
and hangod.

The Governour being blest with this good servis, and the better servis, in that it was efected with out blood shed, and being inform'd

that Bacon was entred upon his Indian March, ships him selfe for the western shore, being assisted with 5 ships and 10 sloops, in which (as it is saide) was about a thousand soulders. The newes where of outstripping his canvis wings soone reach'd the eares of those left by Bacon, to see the Kings peace kep, by resisting the Kings vice gerent. For before that the Governour could get over the Water, two fugetines was got to land, sent (as may be supposed) from som in Accomack, spirited for the Generalls quarill, to inform those here, of the same principles, of the Governours strength, and upon what terms his soulders were to fight. And first they were to be rewarded with those mens estates who had taken Bacons Oath, catch that catch could. Secondly that they, and there heirs, for 21 years should be discharged from all impossition, excepting Church dues, and lastly 12 pence per day, dureing the wholl time of servis. And that it was further decreed that all Sarvants, whose masters were under the Generall Collours, or that had subscribed the ingagement, should be set free, and enjoy the fore mention'd benifits, if that they would (in Arms) owne the Governours cause. And that this was the wholl truth, and nothing but the truth, the two men be fore mention'd, deposed before Capt. Thorp one of the Iust-asses of the peace, for York County, after that one Collonell Scarsbrooke had more prudently declined the admitting these two scoundrills to the test. Whether these ffellows were in the right, or in the rong, as to what they had narated, I know not, but this is certaine, whether the same was trew, or false, it produced the effects of truth in peoples mindes; who hereby became so much destracted in there ressalutions, that they could not tell, at present, which way to turn them selues; while there tongues expresed no other language but what sounded forth feares, wishes, and execrations, as their apprehensions, or affections, dictated: All lookeing upon them selues as a people utterly undon, being equally exposed to the Governours displeasure, and the Indians bloody cruillties; Som cursing the cause of there approcheing destruction, lookeing upo the Oath to be no small ingredient, helping to fill up the measure of there Miserys: Others wishing the Generalls presence, as there onely Rock of safety, while other look'd upon him as the onely quick sands ordained to swallow up, and sinke the ship that should set them on shore, or keep them from drowning in the whirle poole of confusione.

Sir W. ships himselfe for y^e western shore.

Upon what terms the Accomackians were to fight.

The peoples perplexed condition.

In the midst of these feares, and perturbations, the Governour ariues with his Fleet of 5 ships and 10 sloopes, all well man'd (or appear'd to be soe) before the Towne; into which the Governour sends

S^r W. arrives at Towne, Sep. 7.

The Bacon-
ians forsake
the towne.

his summons (it being possest by 7 or 800 Baconians) for a Rendition; with a free and ample pardon to all that would decline Bacons intress, and owne his, excepting one Mr. Drummond and one Mr. Larance a Collonell, and both actiue promoters of Bacons designes: Which is a most apparent argument, that what those two men (before mentioned) had sworn to, was a mere pack of untruths. This his Honours Proclamation was acceptable to most in Towne; while others againe would not trust to it, feareing to meet with som after-claps of revenge: Which diverseity of opinions put them all into a ressalution of diserting the place, as not Tenable (but indeed had it bin fortified, yet they had no Commission to fight) while they had the liberty of so doing, before it should be wholly invested; which that night, in the darke, they put in execution, every one shifting for him selfe with no ordnary feare, in the gratest hast possible, for fere of being sent after: And that som of them was posses'd with no ordnary feare, may be manifested in Collonell Larence, whose spirits were so much distracted, at his apprehensions of being one excepted in the Governours act of grace, that he forsooke his owne Howse with all his welth and a faire Cupbord of Plate intire standing, which fell into the Governours hands the nex Morning.

The Towne being thus forsaken, by the Baconians, his Honour enters the same the next day, about noone; where after he had rendered thanks unto God for his safe arivall (which he forgot not to perform upon his knees, at his first footeing the shore) hee applyes himselfe not onely to secure what he had got possession of, but to increace and enlarge the same to his best advantage. And knowing that the people of ould useally painted the God of war with a belly to be fed, as well as with hands to fight, he began to cast about for the bringing in of provissions for to feed his soulders; and in the next place for soulders, as well to reinforce his strength with in, as to enlarge his quarters abroad: But as the saying is, Man may propose, but God will dispose; when that his hon^r thought him selfe so much at liberty, that he might haue the liberty to go when and where he pleased, his expectations became very speedily & in a moment frusterated.

For Bacon haueing don his buisness against the Indians, or at least so much as he was able to do, haueing marched his men with a grate deale of toyle & haserd som hundreds of miles, one way and another, killing som and takeing others prissoners, and haueing spent his provissions, draws in his forces with in the verge of the English Plantations, from whence he dismiseth the gratest part of his Army to

gether strength against the next designed March, which was no sooner don but he incounters the newes of the Governours being arived at town. Of which being informed he with a marvellous cellerity (outstriping the swift wings of fame) marcheth those few men now with him (which hee had onely resarved as a gard to his parson) and in a trice blocks up the Governour in Towne, to the generall astonishment of the wholl Countrey; especially when that Bacons numbers was knowne; which at this time did not exseed aboue a hundred and fifty, and these not above two thirds at worke neather. An action of so strange an Aspect, that who ever tooke notis of it, could not chuse but thinke but that the Accomackians eather intended to receue their promised pay, without disart; or other ways to establish such signall testimonies of there cowerdize or disaffections, or both, that posterity might stand & gaze at there reched stupidity.

Bacon blocks
the Governour
up in towne.

Bacon soone perceived what easey worke he was likely to haue, in this servis, and so began to set as small an esteeme upon these mens curages, as they did upon there owne credits. Hee saw, by the Prolog, what sport might be expected in the play, and soe began to dispose of his affaires accordingly. Yet not knowing but that the paucity of his numbers being once knowne, to those in Towne, it might raise there hearts to a degree of curage, haueing so much the ods, and that manitimes number prevailes against ressalution, he thought it not amiss, since the Lions strength was too weake, to strengthen the same with the Foxes Braines: and how this was to be efected you shall heare.

For emediately he despacheth two or three parties of Horss, and about so many in each party, for more he could not spare, to bring in to the Camp some of the prime Gent: Women, whose Husbands were in towne. Where when arived he sends one of them to inform her owne, and the others Husbands, for what purposes he had brought them into the camp, namely, to be plac'd in the fore frunt of his Men, at such time as those in towne should sally forth upon him.

Bacon sends
for severall
Gent: Wo-
men in to
the camp,
and for
what.

The poore Gent: Women were mightely astonish'd at this project; neather were there Husbands voide of amazements at this subtile invention. If M^r Fuller thought it strange, that the Divells black gard should be enrouled Gods soulders, they made it no less wonderfull, that there innocent and harmless Wives should thus be entred a white garde to the Divell. This action was a Method, in war, that they were not well aquainted with (no not those the best inform'd in military affaires) that before they could com to pearce their enimes sides, they must be obliged to dart there wepons through there wives brest: By which

meanes though they (in there owne parsons) might escape without wounds; yet it might be the lamentable fate of there better halfe to drop by gunshott, or other ways be wounded to death.

Whether it was these Considerations, or som others, I do not know, that kep their swords in there scabards: But this is manifest, That Bacon knit more knotts by his owne head in one day, then all the hands in Towne was able to untye in a wholl weeke: While these Ladyes white Aprons became of grater force to keepe the beseiged from salling out then his works (a pittifull trench) had strength to repell the weakest shot, that should haue bin sent into his Legüre, had he not made use of this invention.

For it is to be noted that rite in his frunt, where he was to lodge his Men, the Governour had planted 3 grate Guns, for to play poynt blank upon his Men, as they were at worke, at about 100 or a 150 paces distance; and then againe, on his right hand, all most close aborde the shore, lay the ships, with ther broade sides, to thunder upon him if he should offer to make an onslaute: this being the onely place, by land, for him to make his entrey, into the Towne: But for your better satisfaction, or rather those who you may show this Naritiue to, who haue never bin upon the place, take this short description.

The description
of James
Towne.

The place, on which the Towne is built, is a perfect Peninsulla, or tract of Land, all most wholly incompast with Water. Haueing on the Sowth side the River (Formerly Powhetan, now called James River) 3 miles brode, Incompast on the North, from the east point, with a deep Creeke, rangeing in a cemicircle, to the west, with in 10 paces of the River; and there, by a smalle Istmos, tacked to y^e Continent. This Iseland (for so it is denominate) hath for Longitud (east and west) nere upo 2 miles, and for Lattitude about halfe so much, beareing in the wholl compass about 5 miles, litle more or less. It is low-ground, full of Marches and Swomps, which makes the Aire, especially in y^e Sumer, insalubritious & unhelty: It is not at all replenish'd with springs of fresh water, & that which they haue in ther Wells, brackish, ill sented, penurious, and not gratefull to y^e stumack; which render the place improper to indure the commencement of a seige. The Towne is built much about the midle of the Sowth line, close upon the River, extending east and west, about 3 quarters of a mile; in which is comprehended som 16 or 18 howses, most as is the Church, built of Brick, faire and large; and in them about a dozen ffamilles (for all the howses are not inhabited) getting there liveings by keepeing of ordnaries, at exstreordinary rates.

The Governour understanding that the Gent: Women, at the Legure, was, by order, drawne out of danger, resalued, if possible, to beate Bacon out of his trench; which he thought might easely be performed, now that his Gardian Angles had forsaken his Camp. A salley made upon Bacon. For the efecting of which he sent forth 7 or (as they say) 800 of his Accomackians, who (like scholers goeing to schoole) went out with hevie harts, but returnd hom with light heeles; thinkeing it better to turne there backs upon that storme, that there brests could not indure to struggle against, for feare of being gauled in there sides, or other parts of there bodyes, through the sharpness of the wether; which (after a terable noyse of thunder and lightning out of the Easte) began to blow with a powder (and som leade too as big as musquitt boolitts) full in there faces, and that with so grate a violence, that som off them was not able to stand upon there leggs, which made the rest betake them selues to there heeles; as the onely expedient to save there lives; which som amongst them had rather to haue lost, then to haue own'd there safty at the price of such dishonourable rates.

The Governour was exstremly disgusted at the ill management of this action, which he exprest in som passionate terms, against those who merited the same. But in ernist, who could expect the event to be other ways then it was, when at the first notis given, for the designed salley to be put in execution, som of the officers made such crabed faces at the report of the same, that the Guner of Yorke Fort did proffer to purchase, for any that would buy, a Collonells, or a Captains, Commission, for a chunke of a pipe.

The next day Bacon orders 3 grate Guns to be brought into the Camp, two where of he plants upon his trench. The one he sets to worke (playing som calls itt, that takes delight to see stately structurcs beated downe, and Men blowne up into the aire like Shutle Cocks) against the Ships, the other against the enterance into Towne, for to open a passage to his intended Storm, which now was resalued upon as he said, & which was prevented by the Governours forsakeing the place, and shiping himselfe, once more to Accomack; takeing along with him all the Towne people, and there goods, leaveing all the grate Guns naled up, and the howses emty, for Bacon to enter at his pleasure, and which he did the next morning before day: Where, contrary to his hopes, he met with nothing that might satisfie eather him selfe or soulders desires, except few Horsses, two or three sellers of wine, and som small quantety of Indian Corne with a grate many Tan'd hides. The Governour leaves Towne.

Bacon sets
the Towne
on fire.

The Governour did not presently leaue Iames River, but rested at an Ancor som 20 miles below the Towne, which made Bacon entertaine som thoughts, that eather hee might haue a desire to re-enter his late left quarters, or return and block him up, as he had S^r William. And that there was som probabilitie S^r W. might steare such a course was news from Potomack (a province within the North Verge of Virginia) that Collonell Brent was marching at the head of 1000 Soulders towards Towne in vindication of the Governours quarill. The better to prevent S^r Williams designes (if he had a desire to returne) and to hinder his Conjunction with Brent (after that he had consulted with his Cabinet Councell) he in a most barberous maner converts y^e wholl Towne into flames, cinders and ashes, not so much as spareing the Church, and the first that ever was in Virginia.

Goes over
into Gloster.

Haueing performed this Flagitious, and sacrilidgious action (which put the worst of Sperits into a horid Consternation, at so in-humane a fact) he marcheth his men to the Greene spring (the Governours howse soe named) where haueing stade (feasting his Army at the Governours Cost) two or 3 days, till he was inform'd of S^r Williams Motion, he wafts his soulders over the River, at Tindells point, in to Glocester County: takeing up his head quarters at Collonell Warners; from whence hee sends out his Mandates, through the wholl County, to give him a Meeting at the Court howse; there to take the ingagement, that was first promoted at the Midle Plantation: for as yet, in this County, it was not admited. While he was sedulously contriveing this affaire, one Cap^t Potter arives in post haste from Rapahanock, with news that Coll: Brent was advanceing fast upon him (with a resalution to fight him) at the head of a 1000 men, what horsse what foote, if hee durst stay the commencement. Hee had no sooner red the Letter, but hee commands the Drums to beate, for the gathering his soulders under there Collours; which being don hee acquaints them with Brents numbers and resalutions to fight, and then demands theres; which was cherefully answered in the affirmetive, with showtes and acclamations, while the Drums thunders a March to meet the promised conflict. The Soulders with abundance of cherefullness disburthening them selues of all impediments to expedition, order, and good decipling, excepting there Oathes, and Wenches: the first where of they retain'd in imitation of there Commanders; the other out of pittie to the poore whores; who seeing so many Men going to kill one another, began to feare that if they staide behinde, for want of doing they might be undone [()there being but a few left at hom, excepting ould men, to sett

Bacon re-
salues[s] to
fight Brent.

them on worke,) and so chose rather to dye amongst the soulders, then to be kep from there labour, and so dye for want of exercize. Besides they knew if fortune cast them into there enimys hands, they had nothing to be plundered of but there honisty; and that, as too grate a burthen, and not fitt to be worn in a Camp they had left at hom, thereby to be found the more light, and fit for the servis they were destinated to. And then againe they had heard a pritty good carrecter of Brent, and they could not tell but that all or most of his Men might be as good as him selfe; so that let the world go which way it would (Stand still with Ptolomye, or turne rownd like a whorlegigg with Copernicus) they were likely to com of with a saveing cast, the being onely to change there Masters, not the trade they were bound prentis to.

Bacon had not marched above 2 or 3 days journey (and those but short ones too, as being loth to tire his Laberours before they came to there worke) but he meets news in post hast, that Brents Men (not soulders) were all run away, and left him to shift for him selfe. For they haueing heard that Bacon had beate the Governour out o'th Towne they began to be afeard (if they should com with in his reach) that he might beat them out of there lives, and so resalued not to come nere him. Collonell Brent was mightily astonish'd at the departure of his followers, saying that they had forsaken the stowtest man, and ruing'd the fairest estate in Verginia; which was by there cowerdize, or disaffections, expos'd to the mercy of the Baconians. But they being (as they thought) more obliged to looke after their owne concernes & lives, then to take notis, eather of his vallour, or estate, or of there owne Credits, were not to be rought upon by any thing that he could do, or say; contrary to there owne fancies.

This buisness of Brents haueing (like the hoggs the devill sheard) produced more noyse then wooll, Bacon, according to the Summons, meets the Gloster men at the Court howse: where appeard som 6 or 7 hundred horss and foot, with there Arms. After that Bacon, in a long Harage, had tendred them the ingagement (which as yet they had not taken, and now was the onely cause of this Convention) one M^r Cole offered the sence of all the Gloster men, there present: which was sum'd up in there desires, not to haue the oath imposed upon them, but to be indulged the benefitt of Neutralitie: But this he would not grant, telling off them, that in this there request they appear'd like the worst of sinners, who had a desire to be saved with the righteous, and yet, would do nothing whereby they might obtaine there salvation; and so

Brents men
forsake him.

The oath
tendred to
the Gloster
Men.

Mr. Wading,
a Minister,
imprison'd.

offering to go away, one Coll: Gouge (of his party) calls to him and tould him, that he had onely spoke to the Horss (meaneing the Troopers) and not to the foote. Bacon, in som passion, replide, he had spoke to the Men, and not to the Horss; haueing left that servis for him to do, because one beast best would understand the meaneing of another. And because a minister, one Mr. Wading, did not onely refuse to take the Ingagement, but encouraged others to make him there example, Bacon committed him to the Gard; telling off him, that it was his place to Preach in the Church, not in the Camp: In the first he might say what he pleased, but in the last, he was to say no more then what should please him; unless he could fight to better purpose then he could preach.

Bacon designs to goe
to Accomack.

The Gloster men haueing taken the ingagement, (which they did not till another meeteing, and in another place) and all the worke don on this side the Western Shore, Bacon thought it not a miss, but worth his labour, to go and see how the Accomackians did. It must be confest that he was a Gent:man of a Liberall education, and so consequently must be replenish'd with good maners, which inables, and obligeth all civell parsons both to remember, and repay, receued curtesces: which made him not to forget those kindenesses the Accomackians bestow'd, in his absence, on his friends, and there nighbours, the Verginians: and so now he resalued (since he had nothing ells to do) for to go and repay there kinde hearted vissitt. But first he thought good to send them word of his good meaneing, that they might not pleade want of time, for want of knowledg, to provide a reception answerable to his quallety, and attendance. This was pritty faire play, but really the Accomackians did not halfe like it. They had rather his Hon^r would haue had the patience to haue staid till he had bin invited, and then he should haue bin much more wellcom. But this must not hinder his jurnye; if nothing ells enterveine they must be troubled, with a troublesom guest, as well as there neighbours had bin, for a grate while together, to their exstreordinary charge, and utter undoeing. But there kinde, and very mercyfull fate, to whom they, and their Posterity, must ever remane indebted, observeing there cares and feares, by an admireable, and ever to be cellibrated providence, removed the causes. For

Bacon dyes
Octobr 18.

Bacon haueing for som time, bin beseiged by sickness, and now not able to hould out any longer; all his strength, and provisions being spent, surrendred up that Fort he was no longer able to keepe, into the hands of that grim and all conquering Captaine, Death; after that he

had implor'd the assistance of the above mentioned Minester, for the well making his Artickles of Rendition. The onely Religious duty (as they say) he was observ'd to perform durezza these Intregues of affaires, in which he was so considerable an actor, and soe much con-searn'd, that rather then he would decline the cause, he be came so deeply ingaged in, in the first rise there of, though much urged by arguments of dehortations, by his nearest Relations and best friends, that he subjected him selfe to all those inconveniences that, singly, might bring a Man of a more Robust frame to his last hom. After he was dead he was bemoned in these following lines (drawne by the Man that waited upon his person, as it is said) and who attended his Corps to there Buriall place: But where deposited till the Generall day, not knowne, onely to those who are ressalutly silent in that particuler. There was many coppes of Verces made after his departure, calculated to the Lattitude of there affections who composed them; as a rellish taken from both appetites I haue here sent you a cuple.

Bacons Epitaph, made by his Man.

DEATH why soe crewill! what no other way
To manifest thy spleene, but thus to slay
Our hopes of safety; liberty, our all
Which, through thy tyranny, with him must fall
To its late Caoss? Had thy riged force
Bin delt by retale, and not thus in gross
Griefe had bin silent: Now wee must complaine
Since thou, in him, hast more then thousand slane
Whose lives and safetys did so much depend
On him there lif, with him there lives must end.
If't be a sin to thinke Death brib'd can bee
Wee must be guilty; say twas bribery
Guided the fatall shaft. Verginias foes
To whom for secrit crimes, just vengeance owes
Disarved plagues, dreding their just disart
Corrupted Death by Parasscellician art
Him to destroy; whose well tride curagè such,
There heartless harts, nor arms, nor strength could touch.
Who now must heale those wounds, or stop that blood
The Heathen made, and drew into a flood?
Who i't must pleade our Cause? nor Trump nor Drum
Nor Deputations; these alas are dumb.
And Cannot speake. Our Arms (though nere so strong)
Will want the aide of his Commanding tongue,
Which Conquer'd more than Cesser: He orethrew
Onely the outward frame; this Could subdue

The rugged workes of nature. Soules repleate
 With dull Child could, he'd annemate with heate
 Drawne forth of reasons Lymbick. In a word
Marss and *Minerva*, both in him Concurd
 For arts, for arms, whose pen and sword alike
 As *Cato* did, may admiration strike
 In to his foes ; while they confess with all
 It was there guilt stil'd him a Criminall.
 Onely this differance doth from truth proceed
 They in the guilt, he in the name must bleed
 While none shall dare his *Obseques* to sing
 In disarv'd measures ; untill time shall bring
 Truth Crown'd wth freedom, and from danger free
 To sound his praises to posterity.

Here let him rest ; while wee this truth report
 Hee's gon from hence unto a higher Court
 To pleade his Cause : where he by this doth know
 WHETHER TO CEASER HEE WAS FRIEND, OR FOE.

Vpon the Death of G. B.

WHETHER to Ceaser he was Friend or Foe ?
 Fox take such Ignorance, do you not know ?
 Can he be Friend to Ceaser, that shall bring
 The Arms of Hell, to fight againt the King ?
 (Treason, Rebellion) then what reason haue
 Wee for to waite upon him to his Grave,
 There to express our passions ? Wilt not bee
 Worse then his Crimes, to sing his Ellegie
 In well tun'd numbers ; where each Ella beares
 (To his Flagitious name) a flood of teares ?
 A name that hath more soules with sorow fed,
 Then reched Niobe, single teares ere shed ;
 A name that fil'd all hearts, all eares, with paine,
 Untill blest fate proclaimed, Death had him slane.
 Then how can it be counted for a sin
 Though Death (nay though my selfe) had bribed bin,
 To guide the fatall shaft ? we honour all
 That lends a hand unto a T[r]ators fall.
 What though the well payde Rochit soundly ply
 And box the Pulpitt, in to flatterey ;
 Urging his Rethorick, and straind elloquence,
 T' adorne incoffin'd filth and excrements ;
 Though the Defunct (like ours) nere tride
 A well intended deed untill he hided ?
 'Twill be nor sin, nor shame, for us, to say
 A two fould Passion checker-workes this day

Of Ioy and Sorow; yet the last doth move
 On feete impotent, wanting strength to prove
 (Nor can the art of Logick yeild releife)
 How Ioy should be surmounted, by our greife.
 Yet that wee Gfve it cannot be denide,
 But 'tis because he was, not cause he dide.
 So wep the poore destressed, Ilyum Dames
 Hereing those nam'd, there Citty put in flames,
 And Country ruing'd; If wee thus lament
 It is against our present Ioyes consent.
 For if the rule, in Phisick, trew doth prove,
 Remove the cause, th' effects will after move,
 We haue outliv'd our sorows; since we see
 The Causes shifting, of our misery.
 Nor is't a single cause, that's slipt away,
 That made us warble out, a well-a-day.
 The Braines to plot, the hands to execute
 Projected ills, Death Ioyntly did nonsute
 At his black Bar. And what no Baile could save
 He hath committed Prissoner to the Grave;
 From whence there's no reprieve. Death keep him close
We haue too many Divells still goe loose.

Ingrams Proceedings.

The Lion had no sooner made his exitt, but the Ape (by indubitable right) steps upon the stage. Bacon was no sooner removed by the hand of good providence, but another steps in, by the wheele of fickle fortune. The Countrey had, for som time, bin guided by a company of knaves, now it was to try how it would behave it selfe under a foole. Bacon had not long bin dead, (though it was a long time be fore ~~som~~ ^{Ingram takes up Bacons Commission.} would beleive that he was dead) but one Ingram (or Isgrum, which you will) takes up Bacons Commission (or ells by the patterne of that cuts him out a new one) and as though he had bin his natureall heire, or that Bacons Commission had bin granted not onely to him selfe, but to his Executors, Administraters and Assignes, he (in the Millitary Court) takes out a Probit of Bacons will, and proclames him selfe his Suc-
 cesser.

This Ingram, when that he came first into the Countrey, had gott upon his Back the title of an Esquire, but how he came by it may pus-sell all the Herolds in England to finde out, u[n]till he informs them of his right name: how ever, by the helpe of this (and his fine capering, for it is saide that he could dance well upon a Rope) he caper'd him

selfe in to a fine (though short liv'd) estate: by marrying, here, with a rich Widow, vallued at som hundreds of pounds.

Proclaimed
Generall.

The first thing that this fine fellow did, after that he was mounted upon the back of his Commission, was to Spur, or Switch, those who were to pay obedience unto his Authorety, by geting him selfe proclaimed Generall of all the forces, now raised, or here after to be raised, in Verginia: Which while it was performing at the head of the Army, the Milke-sop stooode with his hatt in his hand, lookeing as demurely as the grate Turks Muftie, at y^e readeing som holy sentance, extracted forth of the Alchiron. The Bell-man haueing don, he put on his hat, and his Ianessarys threw up there Caps; crying out as lowde as they could Bellow, God save our new Generall, hopeing, no dout, but he, in imitation of the grat Sultaine, at his election, would haue enlarged there pay, or ells haue given them leave to haue made Iewes of y^e best Christians in the Countrey: but he being more than halfe a jew him self, at present forbad all plundrings, but such as he him selfe should be parsonally at.

Beverly
taken
Hansford.

It was not long before the Governour (still at Accomack) had intimation of Bacons death. He had a long time bin shut up in the Arke (as we may say) and now thought good to send out a winged Messenger to see, if happely, y^e Delluge was any whit abated; and whether any dry-ground emêrg'd its head, on which, with safety, he might sett his foot, without danger of being wetshod in blood, which accordingly he effected, under the command of one Mā Beverly: a parson calculated to the Lattitude of the Servis, which required descretion, Cūrage, & Celerity, as qualetys wholly subservant to millitary affares: And all though he returnd not with an Olive branch in his Mouth, the Hyroglyph of peace, yet he went back with the Laurell upon his browes, the emblim of Conquest and tryumph, haueing snapt up one Coll: Hansford, and his party, who kep garde, at the Howse where Coll: Reade did once live. It is saide that Hansford, at (or a litle before) the onslaut, had forsaken the Capitole of Marss, to pay his oblatiōns in the Temple of Venus; which made him the easēre preay to his eni-mies; but this I haue onely upon report, and must not aver it upon my historical reputation: But if it was soe, it was the last Sacryfize he ever after offred at the Shrine of that Luxurious Diety, for presently after that he came to Accomack, he had the ill luck to be the first Ver-ginian borne that dyed upon a paire of Gallows. When that he came to the place of Execution (which was about a Mile removed from his prisson) he seemed very well resalued to undergo the utmost smallize

of his not over kinde Destinie, onely Complaineing of the maner of his death: Being obserued neather at the time of his tryall (which was by a Court Martiall) nor afterwards, to suplicate any other fauour, then that he might be shot like a Soulder, and not to be hang'd like a Dog. But it was tould him, that what he so passionately petitioned for could not be granted, in that he was not condem'd as he was merely a Soulder, but as a Rebelle, taken in Arms against the King, whose Laws had ordaind him that death. Dureing the short time he had to live, Hansford Executed. after his sentence, he approved to his best advantage for the well fare of his soule, by repentance and contrition for all his Sinns, in generall, excepting his Rebelellion, which he would not acknowledg; desireing the People, at the place of execution, to take notis that he dyed a Loyall Subject, and a lover of his Countrey; and that he had never taken up arms, but for the destruction of the Indians, who had murdered so many Christians.

The buisness being so well accompish'd, by those who had taken Hansford, did so raise there Spirits, that they had no sooner deliver'd there Freight, at Accomack, but they hoysed up there sailes, and back againe to Yorke River, where with a Marvellous celerity they surprise Chelsemann and Willford surpris[ed] by Beverly. one Major Cheise-Man, and som others, amongst whom one Cap^t Wilford, who (it is saide) in the bickering lost one of his eyes, which he seem'd litle concern'd at, as knowing, that when he came to Accomack, that though he had bin stark blinde, yet the Governour would take care for to afford him a guide, that should show him the way to the Gallows. Since he had promised him a hanging, long before, as being one of those that went out with Bacon, in his first expedition against the Indians, without a Commission.

This Cap^t Wilford, though he was but a litle man, yet he had a grate heart, and was knowne to be no Coward. He had for som yeares bin an Interpreter betwene the English and the Indians, in whose affaires he was well aquainted, which rendred him the more acceptable to Bacon, who made use of him all along in his Indian War. By birth he was the Second Son of a K^t, who had lost life and estate in the late Kings quarrell, against the surnamed long Parliament, which first him to Verginia (the onely City of Refuge left in his Majesties dominions, in those times, for destressed Cavallers) to seeke his fortunes, which through his industerey began to be considerable, if the kindness of his fate had bin more perminent, and not destin'd his life to so reched a death. Major Cheisman, before he came to his triall, Chelsemann dies in prison. dyed in prisson, of feare, Greife, or bad useage, for all these are

reported: and so by one death prevented another more dreadfull to flesh and blood.

There is one remarkeable passage reported of this Major Cheismans Lady, which because it sounds to the honour of her Sex, and consequent[1]y of all loveing Wives, I will not deny it a roome in this Narratiue.

Mr Cheismans grate
affections for
her husband.

A kinde
Wife.

When that the Major was brought in to the Governor^s presence, and by him demanded, what made him to ingage in Bacons designes? Before that the Major could frame an Answer, to the Governours demand; his Wife steps in and tould his hon^r that it was her provocations that made her Husband joyned in the Cause that Bacon contended for; ading, that if he had not bin influenc'd by her instigations, he had never don that which he had don. Therefore (upon her bended knees) she desired of his hon^r, that since what her Husband had don, was by her meanes, and so, by Consequence, she most guilty, that shee might be hang'd, and he pardon'd. Though the Governour did know, that what she had saide, was neare to the truth, yet he saide litle to her request, onely telling of her that she was a W——. But his hon^r was angrey, & therefore this expression must be interpreted the effects of his passion, not his meaneing: For it is to be understood in reason, that there is not any Woman, who hath soe small affection, for her Husband, as to dishonour him by her dishonisty, and yet retaine such a degree of love, that rather then he should be hang'd, shee will be content to submit her owne life to the Sentence, to keep her husband from y^e Gallows.

Capt Farlow
executed.

Capt Carver & Capt. Farlow was now (or about this time) Executed, as is before hinted. Farlow was related to Cheisman, as he had married Farlows Neice. When that he went first into the servis (which was presently after that Bacon had receued his Commission) he was Chosen Commander of those recrules sent out of Yorke County, to Make up Bacons Numbers, according to the Gage of his Commission, limited for the Indian Servis; and by S^r William (or som one of the Councell) recommended to Bacon, as a fitt parson to be Commander of the saide party. These terms, by which he became ingaged, under Bacons Commands, he urged in his pley, at his triall: Ading, that if he had, in what he had don, denyed the Generalls orders, it was in his power to hang him, by the judgment of a Court Martiall; and that he had acted nothing but in obedience to the Generalls Authority. But it was replide, against him, that he was put under Bacons command for the servis of the Countrey, against the Indians,

which imploy he ought to haue kep to, and not to haue acted by yond his bounds, as he had don : And Since he went into the Army under the Governours orders, he was required to Search the Same, and see if he could finde one that Commissionated him to take up Arms in opposition to the Governours Authority and parson : Neather had Bacon any other power, by his Commission (had the same bin never so legally obtained) but onely to make war upon the Indians. Farlow rejoyned, that Bacon was, by his Commission, to see that the Kings peace was kep, and to Suppress those that should indeiour to Perturbe the same. It was reply'd, this might be granted him, and he might make his advantage of it, but was required to consider, whether the Kings peace was to be kep in resisting the Kings emediate Governour, soe as to levy a War against him ; and so commanded him to be silent, while his sentance was pronounced. This man was much pittied by those who were acquainted with him, as one of a peaceable dispossession, and a good scholer, which one might thinke should haue inabled him to have taken a better estimate of his imployment, as he was acquainted with the Mathamaticks : But it seems the Asstrolabe, or Quadrant, are not the fiteest instruments to take the altitude of a Subjects duty ; the same being better demonstrated by practicall, not Speculatiue observations.

The nimble, and timely servis, performed by Major Beverly (before mentioned) haueing opened the way, in som measure, the Governour once more sallyeth out for the Western Shore, there to make triall of his better fortune ; which now began to cast a more favourable Aspect upon him and his affaires ; by removeing the maine obstickles out of the way, by a Death, eather Natureall, or violent, (the one the ordinary, the other the exstreordinary workings of providence) which had with such pertinances, and violent perstringes, aposed his most Auspicious proceedings. The last time he came, he made choyce of James River ; now he was resalued to set up his Rest in Yorke, as hauein the nearest Vicinety to Gloster County (the River onely enterposeing betwene it and Yorke) in which, though the Enimy was the strongest (as desireing to make it the Seate of the Warr, in regard of severall locall covenencies) yet in it he knew that his friends was not the weakest, whether wee respect number, or furniture. It is trew they had taken the ingagement (as the rest had) to Bacon ; but hee being dead, and the ingagement being onely personall, was lade in the Grave with him ; for it was not made to him selfe, his heires, Executors, administrater, and Assignes ; if other ways, it might haue bin

St Will. removes to
Yorke River.

indued with a kinde of immortalty; unless the Sword, or juster (or grater) power might hapen to wound it to death. But, how ever Bacon being Dead, and with him his Commission, all those, who had taken the ingagement, were now at liberty to go and chuse them selues another Master.

But though his hon^r knew that though they were discharged from the bindeing power of the oath, yet they were not free from the Commanding power of those Men that was still in Arms, in persuance of those ends for which the ingagement was pretended to be taken: And that before this could be effected, those Men must first be beaten from there Arms, before the other could get there heeles at liberty, to do him any servis. Therefore he began to cast about how he might remove those Blocks which stode in the Gloster Mens way: which being once don, it must take away all Pretences, and leave them with out all excuse, if they should offer to sitt still, when he, and his good providence together, had not onely knock'd off there shackles, but eather imprisson'd there Iaylers, or tide them up to the Gallows.

The strength
of Will.
had, at his
coming to
York.

He had with him now in Yorke River 4 Shippes besides 2 or 3 Sloopes. Three of the Ships he brought with him from Accomack: the other (a Marchantman, as the rest were) was som time before arived out of England, and in these about 150 Men, at his emediate command; and no more he had when he came into Yorke River: Where being settled in Consultation with his friends, for the Manageing of his affaires, to the best advantage; he was informed that there was a party of the Baconians (for so they were still denominated, on that side, for destinction sake) that had settled them selues in there winter quarters, at the howse of one M^r Howards, in Gloster county.

Beverly sur-
prised Coll:
Harris in
Gloster.

For to keepe these Vermin from breeding, in there warme Kenill, he thought good, in time, for to get them ferited out. For the accomplishment of which peice of servis, he very secretly despacheth away a select number under the Conduct of Major Beverly, who very nimbly performed the same, haueing the good fortune (as it is saide) to catch them all a sleepe. And least the Good man of y^r Howse should forgett this good servis, that Beverly had don him, in removeing his (to him) chargable guess, with these sleepers, he conveyses a good quantity of there Landlords goods aborde: the Baconians (where of one a Leif^t Collonell) to remane prissoners, and the goods to be devided amongst those whose servis had made them such, according to the Law of Arms; which Howard will haue to be the Law of HARMS, by placing the first letter of his name before the vowill A.

But in ernist (and to leave jesting) Howard did really thinke it hard measure, to see that go out of his store, by the Sword, which he intended to deliver out by the Ell, or yard. Neather could his Wife halfe like the Markitt; when she saw the Chapmen carey her Daughters Husband away Prisoner, and her owne fine Cloathes goeing into Captivity; to be sould by Match and pin; and after worne by those who (before these times) was not worth a point; Yet it is thought, that the ould Gent: Woman, was not so much concern'd that her Son in Law was made a prissoner, as her Daughter was vext, to see they had not left one Man upon the Plantation, to comfort, neather herself nor Mother.

This Block (and no less was the Commander of the fore mention'd sleepers) being removed out of the way, the Gloster Men began to stir abroad: Not provoked thereto out of any hopes of geting, but through a feare of loseing. They did plainly perceue that if they them selues did not goe to worke, sombody els would, while they (for there neglegence) might be compeld to pay them there wages; and what that might com to they could not tell, since it was probable, in such Servises, the Laberours would be there owne Carvers; and it is commonly knowne, that Soulders makes no Conscience to take more then there due.

The worke that was now to be don, in these parts (and further I cannot go for want of a guide) was cut out into severall parcells, according as the Baconians had devided the same. And first At Wests Point (an Isthmos which gives the Denomination to the two Rivers, Pomunkey and Mattapony (Indian Names) that branch forth of York River, Som 30 Miles above Tindells point) there was planted a garde of about 200 Soulders. This place Bacon had designed to make his prime Randevouze, or place of Retreat, in respect of severall locall Convenencis, this place admitted off, and which hee found fitt for his purpose, for sundry reasons. Here it was, I thinke, that Ingram did cheifely reside, and from whence he drew his recruts, of Men and Munition. The next Parcell, considerable, was at Green-spring (the Governours howse) into which was put about 100 Men, and Boys, under the Command of on Cap: Drew; who was ressalutely bent (as he sade) to keep the place in spite of all opposiition, and that he might the better keepe his promise he caused all the Avenües, and approaches to the same, to be Baracado'd up, and 3 grate Guns planted to beate of the Assalents. A third parcell (of about 30 or 40) was put in to the Howse of Collonell Nath: Bacons (a Gent: Man related to him deceased,

The Gloster men rise for St. W.

What soulders at West Point.

At Greene Spring.

At Coll. Bacons's.

but not of his principles) under the Command of one Major Whaly, a stout ignorant Fellow (as most of the rest) as may be scene here after; these were the most considerablest parteys that the Gloster Men were to deale with, and which they had promised to reduce to obedience, or other ways to beate them out of there lives, as som of them (perhaps not well acquainted with Millitary affairs, or too well conseated of there owne vallour) boasted to doe.

The Parson that, by Commission, was to perform this worke, was one Major Lawrence Smith (and for this servis so intituled, as it is saide) a Gent: Man that in his time had hued out many a knotty peice of worke, and soe the better knew how to handle such rugged fellowes as the Baconians were famed to be.

The place for him to Congregate his men at (I say Congregate, as a word not improper, since his second, in dignity, was a Minester, who had lade downe the Miter and taken up the Helmet) was at one Major Pates (in whose Howse Bacon had surrendred up both Life and Commission; the one to him that gaue it, the other to him that tooke it) where there apeared men ennough to haue beaten all the Rebels in the Countrey, onely with there Axes and Hoes, had they bin led on by a good overseer.

I haue eather heard, or haue read, That a Compleate Generall ought to be owner of these 3 induments: Wisdom to foresee, Experience to chuse, and Curage to execute. He that wants the 2 last, can never haue the first; since a wise Man will never undertake more then he is able to perform; He that hath the 2 first, wanting the last, makes but a lame Commander; since Curage is an inseperable Adjunct to the bare name of a Soulder, much more to a Generall: He that wants the second, haueing the first & the last, is no less imperfect then the other; since without experience, wisdom and curage (like yong Docters) do but grope in the darke, or strike by gess.

Much about the time that the Gloster Men Mustred at M. Pates, there was a rising in Midle sex, upon the same account: Who were no sooner gott upon ther feet, but y^e Baconians resalues to bring them on there knees. For the efecting of which Ingram speeds away one Walklett, his Leif^t Generall, (a Man much like the Master) with a party of Horss, to do the worke. M. L. Smith was quickly inform'd upon what arend Walklett was sent, and so, with a Generous ressalution, resalues to be at his heeles, if not before hand with him, to helpe his friends in there destress. And because he would not all together trust to others, in affaires of this nature, he advanceth at the head of

The properties of a good Generall. —

A rising in Middlesex.

Walklett sent to suppress it. Smith marches after Walklett.

his owne Troops, (what Horss what Foote for number, is not in my intillegence) leaueing the rest for to fortify Major Pates howse, & so speeds after Walklett who, before Smith could reach the required distance, had performed his Worke, with litle labour, and (hereing of Smiths advance) was preparing to giue him a Reception answerable to his designements: Swareing to fight him though Smith should out number him Cent per cent; and was not this a dareing ressalution of a Boy that hardly ever saw Sword, but in a Scaberd?

In the meane time that this buisnes was a doeing, Ingram understanding upon what designe M. L. Smith was gon about, by the advice of his officers strikes in betwene him and his new made (and new mand) Garisson at M. Pates. He very nimble invests the Howse, and then summons the Soulders (then under the command of the fore said Minester) to a speedy rendition, or otherways to stand out to Mercy, at there utmost perill. After som toos and froes about the buisnes (quite beyond his text) the Minester accepts of Such Articles, for a Surrender, as pleased Ingram, and his Mermidons, to grant.

Ingram takes
the Gloster
Men at M.
Pates.

Ingram had no sooner don this jobb of jurnye worke (of which he was not a litle proud) but M. L. Smith (haueing retracted his March out of Midle-sex, as thinkeing it litle less then a disparagement to haue any thing to doe with Walklett) was up on the back of Ingram, before he was aware, and at which he was not a litle daunted, feareing that he had beate Walklett to peices, in Midlesex. But he perceueing that the Gloster Men did not weare (in there faces) the Countinances of Conquerers, nor there Cloathes the marks of any late ingagement (being free from the honourable Staines of Wounds and Gun shott) he began to hope the best, and the Gloster men to feare the worst; and what the properties of feare is, let Feltham tell you, who saith, That if curage be a good Oriter, feare is a bad Counciller, and a worss Ingineare. For insteade of erecting, it beates and batters downe all Bullworks of defence: perswadeing the feeble hart that there is no safety in armed Troops, Iron gates, nor stone walls. In opposition of which Passion I will appose the Properties of it's Antithesis, and say That as som men are never vallent but in the midst of discourse, so others never manifest there Courage but in the midst of danger: Never more alive then when in the jawes of Death, crowded up in the midst of fire, smoke, Swords and gunns; and then not so much laying about them through despareation, or to saue there lives, as through a Generosety of Spirit, to trample upon the lives of there enimies.

M. G. Smith
retracts his
March from
Walklett.

Major Bristow
chall: to
Ingram.

For the saving of Pouder and Shott (or rather through the before mentioned Generossety of Curage) one Major Bristow (on Smiths side) made a Motion to try the equity, and justness of the quarill, by single Combett: Bristow proffering him selfe against any one (being a Gen^y) on the other side; this was noble, and like a Soulder. This Motion (or rather Challenge) was as redely accepted by Ingram, as proffer'd by Bristow; Ingram Swareing, the newest Oath in fashion, that he would be the Man; and so advanceth on foot, with sword and Pistell, against Bristow; but was fetch'd back by his owne men, as douteing the justness of there cause, or in Consideration of the desparety that was betwene the two Antagonist. For though it might be granted, that in a private Condition, Bristow was the better man, yet now it was not to be alowed, as Ingram was intitled.

The Gloster
men submitt
to Ingram.

This buisness not fadging, betwene the two Champions, the Gloster men began to entertaine strange, and new Ressalutions, quite Retrogadē to there pretentions, and what was by all goodmen expected from the promiseing aspects of this there Leaguing against a usurping power. It is saide that a good Cause and a good Deputation, is a lawfull Authorety for any Man to fight by; yet neather of these, joyntly nor Severally, hath a Coercive power, to make a Man a good Soulder: If he wants Courage, though he is inlisted under both, yet is he not starling quoyne: he is at best but Coper, stompt with the Kings impress, and will pass for no more then his just vallew. As to a good Cause, doutless, they had Satisfied themselves as to that, ells what were they at this time a Contending for, and for whom? And as for a good Deputation, if they wanted that, where fore did they so miserably befoole them selves, as to run in to the mouths of there enimies, and there to stand still like a Company of Sheep, with the knife at there throtes, and never so much as offer to Bleat; for the saving of there lives, liberties, Estates, and what to truly vallient men is of grater vallew then these, there Creditts? all which now lay at the Mercy of there enimies, by a tame surrender of there Arms, and Parsons in to the hands of Ingram (with out Striking one Stroke) who haueing made all the cheife Men prissoners (excepting those who first run away) he dismiss the rest to there owne abodes, there to Sum up the number of those that were eather slane or wounded, in this Servis.

Farrill at-
tamps the
Baconsians
under
Whaly's
Command.

Much about this time, of the Gloster buisness, his hon^r sends abroad a party of Men, from off aboarde, under the Command of one Hubert Farrill, to fferitt out a Company of the Rebels, who kep Gard at Coll. Bacons, under the power of Major Whaly, before mentioned. Coll.

Bacon himselfe, and one Coll: Ludwell, came along with Farrill, to see to the Management of the enterprise ; about which they tooke all possible care, that it might prove fortunate. For they had no sooner resalued upon the onsett, but they consult on the Maner, which was to be effected by a Generossety paralell with the designe ; which required Curage, and expedition : and so concludes not to answer the Centreys by fireing ; but to take, kill, or drive them up to there Avenues, and then to enter pell mell with them in' to the howse : this Method was good had it bin as well executed, as Contrived. But the Centrey had no sooner made the Challinge, with his mouth, demanding who Coms there ? but the other answer with there Musquits (which seldom Speakes the language of friends) and that in soe loud a Maner, that it alarum'd those in the howse to a defence, and then in to a posture to salley out. Which the other perceueing (contrary to there first orders) wheeles of from the danger, to find a place for there securytie, which they in part found, behinde som out buildings, and from whence they fired one upon the other, giveing the Bullits leave to grope there owne way in the dark (for as yet it was not day) till the Generall was shot through his loynes ; and in his fate all the soulders (or the grater part) through there hearts, Now sunke in to there heels which they were now makeing use of instead of there hands, the better to saue there jackits, of which they had bin Certainly Stript, had they Com under there enemies fingers, who knowes better how to Steale then fight, not with-^{Farrill kild.} standing this uneven Cast of Fortunes Mallize. Being a Conflict, in which the losers haue cause to repent, and the winers Faith to giue God thanks ; unless with the same devotion Theives do when that they haue stript honist Men out of there Mony. Here was none but there Generall kild, whose Commission was found dropping-wett with his owne blood, in his pockitt ; and 3 or 4 taken prisoners ; what wounded not knowne, if any, in there backs ; as there enemies say ; who glory'd more in there Conquest then ever Scanderbeg did, for the gratest victory he ever obtained against the Turkes. If S^r Williams Cause were no better then his fortunes, hither to, how many prossellites might his disasters bring over to the tother side ? but God forbid that the justice of all quarills should be estimated by there events.

Yet here in this action (as well as som other before) who can chuse but deplore the strange fate that the Governour was subjected to, in the evill choyce of his cheife-commanders, for the leadeing on his Military transactions ; that when his cause should com to a day of heareing, they should want Curage to put in there pleay of defence, against

there Adverssarys arguments; and pittifully to stand still and see themselves nonsuted, in every sneakeing adventure, or Action, that cal'd upon there Generossety, (if they had had any) to vindicate there indubitable pretences against a usurped power.

It is trew Whalys Condition was desperate, and hee was resalved that his Curage should be conformable & as desperate as his Condition. He did not want intilligence how Hansford, and Som others, was sarved at Accomack; which made him thinke it a grate deale better to dye like a Man, then to be hang'd like a Dogg; if that his Fate would but give him the liberty of picking as well as he had taken the liberty of stealeing; of which unsoulder-like quallety he was fowly guilty. But let Whaleys condition be never so desperate, and that he was resalud to Manage an opposition against his Assalient according to his condition, yet those in the Howse with him stooode upon other terms, being two thirds (and the wholl exseeded not 40) prest into the Servis, much against there will; and had a grater antipethy against Whaly then they had any cause for to feare his fate, if he, and they too, had bin taken. As for that Objection, that Farrill was not, at this time, fully cūred of those Wounds he receved in the Salley at Towne, which in this action proved detrimentall both to his strength and curage: Why then (if it was so) did he accept of this imploy (he haueing the liberty of refusing) since none could be better acquainted with his owne Condition (eather for Strength or Courage) better then him selfe? Certainly in this particular, Farrills foolish ostentation was not excuseable, nor S^r William with out blame, to Complye with his ambition, as he had no other parts to prove himselfe a Soulder, then a haire brain'd ressalution to put him selfe forward in those affaires he had no more acquaintance with then what he had heard people talke off; For the falure of this enterprise (which must wholly be refer'd to the breach he made upon their sedulous determinations) which was (as is intimated before, to croude in to the Howse with the Centrey) was not onely injurious to there owne party, by leting slip so faire an occasion, to weaken the power of the enemy, by removeing Whaly out of the way, who was esteemed the Most Considerablest parson on that side; but it was, and did prove of bad cosequence to the adjacent parts, where he kep gard: For where as before he did onely take ame where he might do mischeife, he now did mischeife with out takeing ame: before this unhapie conflict, he did levie at this, or that particuler onely, but now he shott at Rovers, let the same lite where it would he matter'd nott.

Cap^t: Grantham had, now, bin som time in Yorke River. A man unto

whom Verginia is very much beholden for his neate contrivance in bringing Ingram (and som others) over to harken to reason. With Ingram he had som small acquaintance, for it was in his Ship that he came to Verginia; and so resalued to try if he might not doe that by words, which others could not accomplish wth Swords. Now all though he knew that Ingram was the Point, where all the lines of his contrivance were for to Center, yet he could not tell, very well, how to obtaine this point. For all though he did know that Ingram, in his private Condition, was accostable enough; yet since the Tit Mouse (by one of Fortunes figaryes) was becom an Elliphant, he did not know but that his pride, might be as immence as his power: since the Peacock (though bred upon a Dung-hill) is no less proud of his fine fethers then the princely Eagle is of his noble curage. What Arguments Grantham made use of, to ring the Sword out of Ingrams hand, to me is not visable, more then what he tould me of; which I thinke was not Mercuriall enough, against an ordnary Sophester. But to speake the truth, it may be imagin'd that Grantham (at this time) could not bring more reasons to Convince Ingram, then Ingram had in his owne head to Convince him selfe; and so did onely a wate som favourable overtures (and such as Grantham might, it is possible, now make) to bring him over to the tother side. Neather could he apprehend more reason in Granthams Arguments, then in his owne affaires, which now provok'd him to dismount from the back of that Horss which he wanted skill, and strength, to Manidge; especially there being som, of his owne party, wateing an opertunity to toss him out of the Sadle, of his new mounted honours; and of whose designes he wanted not som intilligence, in the Countinances of his Mermidons; who began for to looke a skew upon this, there Milk-sopp Generall; who they judged fitter to dance upon a Rope, or in som of his wenches lapps, then to caper, eather to Bellonies Bagpipe, or Marsses whisle.

But though Ingram was won upon, to turn honist, in this thing (thanks to his necessitye, which made it an act of Compulsion, not a free will offering) yet was the worke but halfe don, untill the Soulders were wrought upon to follow his example. And though he him selfe, or any body ells, might command them to take up there Arms, when any mischeife was to be don: yet it was a question whether he, or any in the Countrye, could command them to lay downe there Arms, for to efect or do any good. In such a case as this, where Authority wants power, descretion must be made use of, as a vertue Surmounting a brutish force. Grantham, though he had bin but a while in the Coun-

tre, and had seene but litle, as to mater of Action, yet he had heard a grate deale; and So Much that the name of Authority had but litle power to ring y^e Sword out of these Mad fellows hands, as he did perceue. And that there was more hopes to efect that by smoothe words, which was never likely to be accomplish'd by rough deeds; there fore he resalued to accoste them, as the Divell courted Eve, though to a better purpose, with never to be performed promises: counting it no sin to Ludificate those for there good, that had bin deuced by others to there hurt. He knew that Men were to be treated as such, and Children according to there childish dispositions: And all though it was not with both these he was now to deale, yet he was to observe the severall tempers of those he was to worke upon.

Grantham at
West Point.

What number of Soulders was, at this time, in Garrison at West Point, I am not Certane: It is saide about 250, sum'd up in freemen, searvants and slaues; these three ingredience being the Compoosition of Bacons Army, ever since that the Governour left Towne. These was informed (to prepare the way) two or three days before that Grantham came to them, that there was a treaty on foote betwene there Generall, and the Governour; and that Grantham did manely promote the same, as he was a parson that favoured the cause, that they were contending for.

Upon what
terms West-
Point was
surrendered.

When that Grantham arived, amongst these fine fellowes, he was receued with more then an ordnary respect; which he haueing repade, with a suteable deportment, he acquaints them with his Commission, which was to tell them, that there was a peace Concluded betwene y^e Governour and there Generall; an since him self had (in som measures) used his indeviours, to bring the same to pass, hee beg'd of the Governour, that he might haue the hon^r to com and acquaint them with the terms; which he saide was such, that they had all cause to rejoyce at, then any ways to thinke hardly of the same; there being a Compleate satisfaction to be given (by the Articles of agreement) according to every ones particuler intress; which he sum'd up under these heads. And first, those that were now in Arms (and free Men) under the Generall, were still to be retained in Arms, if they so pleased, against the Indians. Secondly, And for those who had a desire for to return hom, to there owne abodes, care was taken for to haue them satisfide, for the time they had bin out, according to the allowance made the last Assembly. And lastly, those that were sarvants in Arms, and behaued them selues well, in there employment, should emedietely receve discharges from there Indentures, signed by the Governour, or

Sequetary of State ; and there Masters to receue, from the publick, a valluable Satisfaction, for every Sarvant, so set free (Marke the words) proportionally to the time that they haue to serve.

Upon these terms, the Soulders forsake West-Point, and goe with Grantham to kiss the Governours hands (still at Tindells point) and to receue the benifitt of the Articles mentioned by Grantham ; where when they came (which was by water, them selues in one vessill, and there Arms in another ; and so contrived by Grantham, as he tould me him selfe, upon good reason) the Sarvants and Slaves was sent hom to there Masters, there to stay till the Governour had leasure to signe there discharges ; or to say better, till they were free, according to the Custom of the Countrey, the rest was made prissoners, or entertain'd by the Governour, as hee found them inclin'd.

Of all the obstickles, that hath, hither to, lane in the Governours way, there is not one (which hath falne with in the Verge of my intilligence) that hath bin removed by the Sword ; excepting what was performed under the Conduct of Beverly : How this, undertaken by Grantham, was effected, you haue heard ; though badly (as the rest) by me Sum'd up. The next, that is taken notis of, is that at Greene Spring (before hinted) under the Command of one Cap^t Drew, formerly a Miller (by profession) though now Dignifide with the title of a Cap^t and made Governour of this Place by Bacon, as he was a person formerly behoulden unto S^r William ; and soe, by way of requiteall, most likely to keepe him out of his owne Howse. This Whisker of Whorly-Gigga, perceueing (now) that there was More Water coming downe upon his Mill, then the Dam would hould, thought best in time, to fortifye the same, least all should be borne downe before he had taken his toule. Which haueing effected (makeing it the strongest place in the Country what with grate and small Gunns) he stands upon his gard, and refuseth to Surrender, but upon his owne terras ; Which being granted, he secures the place till such time as S^r William should, in parson, com and take possession of the same : And was not this pritelie, honestly, don, of a Miller.

The gratest difficulty, now to be performed, was to remove Drummond and Larance out of the way. These two Men was excepted out of the Governours pardon, by his Proclamation of Iune last, and severall papers since, and for to dye without Marcy, when ever taken : as they were the cheife Incendiarys, and promoters to, and for Bacons Designes ; and by whose Councells all transactions were, for the grater part, managed all along on that Side. Drummond was formerly Gov-

Greene
Spri[ng]
secured for
S^r William.

Short career
of Drum-
mond &
Larance.

ernour of Carolina, and all ways esteemed a Parson of such induments, where Wisdom and honisty, are contending for supriority; which rendered him to be one of that sort of people, whose dementions are not to be taken, by the line of an ordnary Capassety. Larance was late one of the Assembly, and Burgis for Towne, in which he was a liver. He was a Parson not meanelly aquainted with such learning (besides his natureall parts) that inables a Man for the management of more then ordnary imployments, Which he subjected to an eclips, as well in the transactings of the present affaires, as in the darke imbraces of a Blackamoore, his slaue: And that in so fond a Maner, as though Venus was cheifely to be worshiped in the Image of a Negro: or that Buty consisted all together in the Antiphety of Complexions: to the noe meane Scandle, and affront, of all the Vottrisses in or about towne.

Drummond
& Coll.
Larance at
the Brick-
howse, in
New-Kent.

When that West point was surrendred, and Greene Spring secur'd, for the Governour, these two Gen^l was at the Brick-howse, in New Kent: a place Situate allmost oppossitt to West point, on the South side of York River, and not 2 Miles removed from the said point, with som Soulders under there Command; for to keepe the Governours Men from landing on that Side; he haueing a Ship, at that time, at Ancor nere the place. They had made som attempts to have hindred Granthams designes (of which they had gain'd som intilligence) but there indeiours not fadging, they sent downe to Coll. Bacons to fetch of the Gard there, under the Command of Whaley, to reinforce there owne strength.*

Whaly was quickly won to obay the commands of his Masters, especially such in whose servis he might expect to receue good Wages: forth with drawing ou[t] his Men, amongst whom was Som Boys, all laden with the goods, and last remanes of Coll. Bacons Estate, an[d] with all posible Speed (after a March of 30 Miles,) joyne[d] with Larance; where they Mustred in all (besides (Co[n]cubines and Whores, Whaley haueing added his to the r[est?]) about 300 Men and Boys. With which number, being [too] weake for to desend downe in to the heart of the Coun[trey,] (now clear'd of the Baconians, or possesst by the other [par]ty) they march up higher in to New Kent, as far [as] Coll: Gouges, thinking (like the snow ball) to incr[ease by] there rouleing. But finding that in stead of increas[ing] there number decreast; and that the Moone of there fortune was now past the full, they broke up how[se-]keeping, every one shifting for him selfe, as his

* The first edition of this narrative ends here. — Eds.

ta[ste?] or feares directed; Whaly and Larence makein[g a] cleare escape; but which way, or to what place, not knowne. Coll. Gouge and the rest, went to there own[e?] Howses, from whence they were brought upon there [tri]all, aborde a Ship, at Tindells point; and from thence ([all] that were condem) [sic] sent to the place of Execution. [A]mongst which (of those that Suffer'd) were one M^r H[all] Clarke of New Kent Court; a parson of Neate Ingenuo[us] parts, but adicted to a more then ordinary prying in[to] the Secrits of State affaires, which som yeares las[t pa]st, wrought him in to the Governours [dis]pleasure. A[nd] which (tis posible) at this time was [not] forgott, [but] was lade to his charge upon his tria[ll] which w[as] by] a Court Martiall) to me is not visa[ble?] He nev[er hav]ing appear'd as a Soulder publickly, [yet] was co[n]demn'd to be hang'd with 3 others (by Coll: [Bacons?]'s howse, [viz.] Major Page, (once My Sarvant, at his [fir]st coming [into] the Countrey, Cap^t Yong, and one [Harris] . . . rtiall to Bacons Army.

This execution being over, the Govern[our] began to be wery of the Water: and findeing that he be[g]an to gether Strength, resalues to go a shore. There w[as] Considerable Cordialls administred to him, in litle more then a weekes [ti]me, which he found had don him a grate deale of [g]ood; the Surrender of Wests point, Green spring, & [t]he death of the fore Mentioned Men. The place where [he] went on Shore, was at Coll: Bacons; now clear'd [of] the Rebels, by the hapey removeall of Whally, after [he] had (by the aideing helpe of his party) devoovered [no] less then 2000 pounds (to my certaine knowl-edge) [of] Coll. Bacons estate; the grater part in Store goods. [Here] he meets with M^r Drummond, taken the day be[fore] in New Kent, where he had absconded, ever since [th]e brakeing up howse keep-ing at Coll: Gouges. The [Govern]our . . . a more then ordinary gladness for to [see h]im, which (as he saide) did him more good then y^e [sigh]t of his owne Brother. If the Governour was soe [glad] to see Drummon, Drommon was no less sad to see [his h]on^r; the sight of whom (with out the help of an As[trol]egr) might inform him what death he should [die,] and that he had not many days to live. That night [he] was sent aborde a Ship in Irons; while the Governo^r [re-]moved, the next day, in his Coach, to M^r Brays: a [jour]nye of some 5 Miles. The next day after, being Sater[day,] Drummond was, by a party of Horss (who receu[ed] him) at Coll: Bacons) conveyed to his tryall: In his way [thi]ther he complained very much that his Irons hurt [him], and that his fine Cloake (as he called it, a green- . . . for

the H[a]ngman had taken his fur'd Coate from [him,] (a bad presage) did much hinder him in his way. [When?] proffer'd [a h]ors, to ride, he refused, and sade he [would] com to . . . e to his port before he was preparte [wi]th his Anc[hor]: ading that he did very much fe're [S^r Wil]liam w[ould] not al[low h]im time to put of his dir[ty cl]othes b[efore] he went to lye downe upon his ev[en]ing b[e]d. [He s]aide, welcom be the grace of God, for [it would clea]nse him from all his filth and pollution. He ex[pressed] abundance of thanks for being permitted to res[t hi]m selfe upon the Roade, while he tooke a pipe of Tobacco. He discoursed very much, with that parson who comm[anded] his gard, concerning the late troubles, affirming that he was wholly innoſcent of those . . . *

The Librarian, Mr. AMORY, read a letter from Franklin B. Dexter, dated "New Haven, July 14, 1866," communicating a more perfect copy of the letter written by the Bishop of London, Edmund Gibson, and printed in the "Proceedings" for March, 1865. The copy now sent furnishes the date of the letter, "Fulham, Sep^r. y^e 3^d 1724," and the address, "To y^e Rev^d M^r. Miles, at Boston, New England."

* The manuscript is evidently contemporaneous with the events described, or written not long after their occurrence. It is in the form of a small octavo, the text, with the heading, measuring five and a half by three and a half inches, not paged. The portion which remains contains fifty-two pages. The chirography is remarkably distinct. Several leaves being destroyed at the beginning and end, there is no title, except the running-heading on each page, viz., "The Indians Proseedings," "Ingram's Proceedings," &c., as in the reprint. Upon the outside of the cover, in a later hand, is written "Bacon's proceed[ings] July 27, 1764." Many of the remaining leaves are much injured by time.

The unknown writer of the manuscript, near the close, on page 341, of this volume, says that Major Page, one of the rebels executed, was "once my sarvant at his first coming into the countrey." In "a list of those that have been executed for y^e late rebellion in Virginia," furnished by Governor Berkeley, and published in the first volume of Force's "Historical Tracts," is the following: "One Page, a carpenter, formerly my sarvant," &c. The query is at once suggested, whether Sir William Berkeley, the Governor, was the author of this manuscript. It was evidently written by one who did not sympathize with the rebel movement, but from some criticisms, in the narrative, on the motives and conduct of Sir William, it seems hardly possible that he could have been the writer. — Eds.

The acknowledgments of the Society were ordered to be made to Mr. Dexter.

On motion of Mr. AMORY, it was *Ordered*, That a printed circular be sent to the different literary and historical associations, and also to individuals, to request the titles and character of manuscript collections in their possession, with a view of completing a catalogue of the same for the use of historical students; the said circular to be prepared and distributed under the supervision of the Standing Committee.

The President read a long and interesting letter from the Recording Secretary, Mr. Deane, dated "London, 13th July, 1866," describing his visit to interesting localities in England. These included the old city of Chester, Warwick, Stratford-upon-Avon, Kenilworth, and Oxford; also London and places in its neighborhood.

Mr. Deane writes, that the Bodleian Library at Oxford furnished many attractions for him. Among some fine specimens of early English printing, he saw there the celebrated "Oxford book," purporting to have been printed at Oxford in "M.CCCC.LXVIII" (1468), "*Exposicio Sancti Jeronimi in Simbolo Apostolorum*." This was some years before the printing of Caxton's first book in England; and it has hitherto furnished a fruitful subject of discussion among bibliographers and among writers of the history of Printing in England, as the existence of a book with this date seemed to contest Caxton's claim to the honor of having introduced printing into England. The better opinion seems to be, that an "x" was accidentally dropped out of the date, and that its true date is M.CCCC.LXXVIII (1478).

Mr. Deane also examined, in the Bodleian Library, a copy

of the rare original edition of Hariot's "Briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginie;" a small quarto of forty-four pages, besides the title and dedication, of one leaf each; text, A 3 to F 4, in fours. "Imprinted at London, 1588." This "report" was reprinted the next year by Hakluyt, in his first folio; and in the year following by De Bry, as the first part of his celebrated work.

A copy of the exceedingly rare tract, in the *first edition*, of "Smith's New Englands Trials," London, 1620, was there examined by him. It consists of only sixteen pages of text, and one leaf each of title and dedication. No copy of this tract is known by him to exist in this country.

The University appropriate annually about two thousand pounds for the library.

Mr. Deane visited the new Library of University College, and saw the books, there deposited, which had been presented to Prof. Goldwin Smith when he was in this country last year. The volumes appeared to be about five hundred in number, and included a complete set of this Society's publications.

On arriving in London, Mr. Deane found much to interest him, as connected with our early history, in the Record Office in Fetter Lane, which contains the manuscripts, down to a certain period, that were recently scattered in various depositories, as the Chapter House, the State-Paper Office, Carlton Ride, the Tower of London, and the Rolls Office; and every facility is now granted for consulting them.

That world of wonders, the British Museum, presented great attractions in its books and manuscripts. Its admirable system of administration renders its treasures available to scholars, whatever branches of study they may be pursuing. Ten thousand pounds per annum are appropriated for the Library alone.

Mr. Deane visited the Bishop of London's palace at Fulham, in the library of which is deposited the manuscript of

Governor Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation," first printed by this Society in 1856. Through the courtesy of the bishop, Mr. Deane was permitted to examine this venerable relic, which is in excellent preservation, clear and perfect throughout; and he embraced the opportunity to collate it to a considerable extent with the printed copy. Prince was very careful and minute in what he wrote respecting this manuscript, how and where he obtained it, &c.; and his memoranda appear on the blank leaves at the beginning. The larger part of this writing was copied by Mr. Hunter, and was printed in the Editorial Preface to the work as published in the Society's Collections. But on the next page is the following, which may have escaped Mr. Hunter's notice:—

"But major Bradford tells me & assures me that He only lent this Book of his Grandfather's to Mr Sewall, & that it being of his Grandfather's own hand writing He had so high a value for it that he would never Part with y^e Property, but would lend it to me & desired me to get it, which I did, & write down this that so major Bradford & his Heirs may be known to be the Right owners."

The printed book-plate, which appears in most of the volumes in the New-England Library, is pasted on one of those blank leaves. It reads as follows:—

"This Book belongs to the New England Library Begun to be collected by Thomas Prince on his entring Harvard College July 6, 1703, and was given by" —

The late Bishop of London has written under the book-plate the following:—

"It now belongs to the Bishop of London's Library at Fulham."

It is supposed that the book-plate was placed in these volumes of the New-England Library after Prince's death, which occurred in 1758.

Mr. Deane says that there are two other manuscript books at Fulham,—parchment-bound folios,—which once belonged to the New England Library. One is a commonplace book, in

which are contained memoranda on various subjects which are specified in a table at the beginning of the book, comprising, for instance, "Civil Government;" "Church Government;" "Fathers, their defects and excellences;" "Scripture, its history, canons, &c.;" "Heresies and Schisms;" "Councils and Synods"; &c.

The other is a Dictionary of Authors, whose names are arranged under different specified heads, as History, Languages, Mathematics, Divinity, Medicine, &c. Its purpose is thus stated in a note on a fly-leaf: "To write down the Lives and Characters of all the Authors in those Arts & Sciences which I intend to gain an Insight into." In pursuance of this object, a short account of each author is subjoined to his name.*

Mr. Deane expresses the opinion, that these volumes, with Bradford's manuscript History, were taken to England by Governor Hutchinson, when he left Boston in 1774, he being the last person known to have had the History in his possession.

These are but a few selections from the topics embraced in Mr. Deane's letter.

* Mr. Deane did not inspect these two books when he was at Fulham; and, for the particular description above given, he expresses himself indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. E. H. Fisher, the accomplished chaplain of the Bishop of London, who furnished it to him a few days after his visit to Fulham. These volumes were represented to be in *Prince's* hand, which is true. But they are not in the handwriting of *Thomas Prince*. They are the memorandum books of the Rev. *Nathan Prince*, a distinguished brother of *Thomas Prince*. Our associate, Samuel F. Haven, Esq., was at Fulham subsequently to the visit of Mr. Deane, and inspected these books. He says that each of the two volumes contains on the fly leaf this memorandum, in the handwriting of *Thomas Prince*:

"*Thomas Prince* his Book, Boston, Jan. 18, 1748-9. This book belongs to the New England Library, begun to be collected by *Thomas Prince* upon his entering Harvard College, July 8, 1703, and was given by s^d Prince to s^d Library in memory of his dear brother, the Rev. Mr. *Nathan Prince*, M.A., formerly Fellow and Tutor of Harvard College in Cambridge. Born at Sandwich Nov. 30, 1698, and died at y^e Island of [Ruatan, one of the West India Islands] about July 25, 1748, and made this Ms. before he left the College in 1742."

SEPTEMBER MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, September 13, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the City of Boston; the City of Roxbury; the American Numismatic and Archæological Society; Brown University; the Essex Institute; the Massachusetts Horticultural Society; the Massachusetts Medical Society; the Mercantile Library Association of New York; the New-England Loyal Publication Society; the Society of Antiquaries of London; the Trustees of the Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art; the Proprietor of the "Savannah Daily Republican"; Mr. George Arnold; James B. Bateman, Esq.; James L. Butler, Esq.; Henry B. Dawson, Esq.; William W. Dougall, Esq.; Professor Daniel C. Gilman; Hon. Samuel Hooper; Adjutant-General William Irvine; Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq.; Nathaniel Paine, Esq.; Hon. John G. Palfrey; Hon. Alexander H. Rice; J. Mason Warren, M.D.; Mr. George Derby Welles; Hon. Henry Wilson; F. A. Wood, Esq.; Mrs. Joseph E. Worcester; and from Messrs. Green, Latham, C. Robbins, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter of acceptance from George Peabody, Esq., who was elected an Honorary Member at the last meeting of the Society.

The President read an interesting letter addressed to him by the Recording Secretary, dated "London, August 8th, 1866," containing a relation of his visit to various memorable historic places in England and Scotland; and especially to the localities connected with the history of America, — particularly to Boston, to the old church in the parish of Austerfield, in which Bradford was baptized; to Scrooby, where Brewster lived, in whose house Bradford worshipped and Robinson preached; to St. Sepulchre's Church, in London, beneath the pavement of which John Smith, of Virginia and New England fame, lies buried.

Mr. BRIGHAM read a letter from Joseph Williamson, Esq., dated "Belfast, Maine, September 6, 1866," on presenting to the Society a copy of the "Hancock Gazette and Penobscot Patriot," of October 22, 1823, containing the following deposition relative to the sword said to have been worn by General Joseph Warren at the battle of Bunker Hill: —

THE SWORD OF WARREN.

In one of our recent numbers we stated having received documents in relation to the sword with which the lamented Gen. Warren fell at the battle of Bunker Hill. At the request of Captain Cornelius Dunham of this town, the proprietor of the sword, we this day publish a copy of the declaration establishing its identity. The original declaration, and the sword, are now in the possession of the Hon. William Davis of Plymouth, Massachusetts. With those who have long known Capt. Dunham, no doubt can exist of the correctness of his statement, according to his best recollections; nor of his sincere and firm belief that the sword he possesses is unequivocally the identical sword used by Warren, at the memorable battle in which he fell.

(COPY.)

I, Cornelius Dunham, gentleman, of the age seventy-four years, born in that part of the town of Plympton, now called Carver, in the county of Plymouth, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts; now an inhabitant of the town of Belfast, in the county of Hancock, State of Maine; being, by the mercy of God, of sound mind and memory, do declare, testify and say — that in the year 1775 I was in the capacity of seaman on board the schr. Priscilla of Plymouth, John Foster Williams, master, returning from the West Indies, via Philadelphia; being off Nantucket shoals about six or eight weeks after the memorable battle of Bunker Hill, we were captured by the British squadron which was then proceeding to take the neat stock from Gardener's Island, near New London.

A prize-master and crew were put on board said schooner, and ordered to Boston. Myself, my brother James, and Samuel Rider of Plymouth, being sick, were permitted to remain on board the schooner, which soon after arrived in Boston. We remained on board some weeks, and were then all taken to Halifax, in a schooner belonging to Samuel Jackson of Plymouth, which had been commanded by Capt. Cornelius White; but was then under the command of Lemuel Goddard.

After we recovered from our sickness we found some friends at Halifax; and I was there employed in the store of Mr. William Lambert, who may be now living in the city of Boston. While employed in Mr. Lambert's store, the servant of a British officer wished me to purchase of him a sword; and ascertaining by a certificate that he was authorized to sell it, I accordingly did purchase it. — After the purchase, he informed me it was the sword taken from "*Doctor Warren immediately after he fell at the battle of Bunker Hill.*" I had no suspicion of this fact till after I had paid him for it. I asked him if his master would vouch for the truth of what he had alleged. He answered me "he would." I then went with him to his master, whom I found to be an officer and a gentleman; who, according to my best recollection was a colonel, and about thirty years of age. The officer told me that he had taken the same sword from Gen. Warren, when lying dead on the battle ground; and that he gave it to his servant. The officer also informed me that "*General Warren fell not far from the Redoubt*" — these being the words he used, as I particularly remember; and that after the British entered the redoubt he saw Warren

before he fell. The officer remarked that he endeavored to prevent his men from firing, but could not; and that Warren, remaining too long on the ground he had defended, was shot dead in his view. The officer likewise informed me that Warren was buried in common with the rest of the dead. I had not been in possession of the sword an hour when I was offered a great price for it by a Mr. Robinson, of Philadelphia, who was very desirous to possess it; but I was not willing to part with it for any price. Mr. Lambert, seeing me so much attached to the sword, gave me a gun, and a French gentleman gave me, at the same time, a cartouch box. — On my return to Plymouth in 1777 I gave general information that I had purchased at Halifax the sword which the late Gen. Warren wore at the battle of Bunker Hill; and hundreds had knowledge of it as such, and frequently saw it. I never took the sword to sea with me, but left it at home as a precious relic. I once equipped myself with it and my gun, on the alarm of a descent of the British at Fairhaven; but before I reached that place, they had reembarked. The time of my purchasing the sword was after the British evacuated Boston, and before the fleet sailed from Halifax for New York.

From the information given by the British officer, I then had not, nor have I since had, the least doubt of this being the sword of the late Gen. Joseph Warren; and which is the same sword which I delivered to the Hon. William Davis and William Jackson, Esq. at Plymouth on the 15th August last, at the moment of my departure for this place. — During the period of forty-seven years that this sword has been in my possession, and proclaimed as being the sword of the late Gen. Joseph Warren, it has never been denied as such, and no claims have been made to any other sword as appertaining to him. — When I purchased the sword it was in good order; but during my long absence at sea, it has lost many of its ornaments.

Done at Belfast, in the State of Maine this fourteenth of September, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two.

(Signed)

CORNELIUS DUNHAM.

State of Maine, Hancock, ss. Belfast, Sept. 14, 1822. Then the above named Cornelius Dunham made solemn oath that the facts related by him in the foregoing declaration, by him subscribed, are true according to his best knowledge and belief.

Before me,

(Signed)

WILLIAM WHITE, *Justice of Peace.*

Mr. R. FROTHINGHAM presented to the Society the following copies of original papers now in the possession of J. Rhea Barton, M.D., of Philadelphia, relating to the origin of the Seal of the United States:—

Remarks on the Device of the Seal of the United States.

The escutcheon is composed of the chief and pale, the two most honorable ordinaries. The thirteen pieces paly represent the several States in the Union, all joined in one solid compact, entire, supporting a chief which unites the whole and represents Congress. The motto alludes to this union.

The pales in the arms are kept closely united by the chief, and depend on that union and the strength resulting from it for support, to denote the confederacy of the United States and the preservation of their union through Congress.

The colors of the pales are those used in the flag of the United States of America. White signifies purity and innocence; Red hardiness and valour, and Blue, the colour of the chief, signifies vigilance, perseverance and justice. The olive branch and arrows denote the power of peace and war which is exclusively vested in Congress.

The crest or constellation denotes a new State taking its place and rank among other sovereign powers.

The escutcheon is borne on the breast of an American eagle, without any other supporter, to denote that the United States of America ought to rely on their own virtue.

The pyramid on the reverse signifies strength and duration. The eye over it, and the motto "Annuit cœptis"—It prospers our endeavours—alludes to the many signal interpositions of Providence in favour of the American cause.

The date underneath is that of the Declaration of Independence, and the words under it signify the beginning of the new American Era, which commences from the date.

The Device for an Armorial Achievement and Reverse of a Great Seal for the United States in Congress assembled, is as follows:—

Arms.—Paleway of thirteen pieces Argent and Gules. A chief Azure; The Escutcheon on the breast of the American bald Eagle displayed proper, holding in his dexter Talon an olive branch and in his sinister a bundle of thirteen arrows, all proper, and in his beak a scroll inscribed with this motto "E pluribus unum."

For the crest.— Over the head of the Eagle, which appears above the Escutcheon, a glory, or, breaking through a cloud, proper, and surrounding thirteen stars forming a constellation, argent, on an azure field.

Reverse.— A Pyramid unfinished.

In the Zenith an eye in a triangle surrounded with a Glory, proper. Over the eye these words "Annuit cœptis." On the base of the Pyramid the numerical letters M.D.C.C.L.X.X.VI. and underneath the following motto—"Novus ordo sæclorum."

SIR,—I am much obliged for the perusal of the elements of Heraldry which I now return. I have just dipt into it so far as to be satisfied that it may afford a fund of entertainment and may be applied by a State to useful purposes. I am much obliged for your very valuable present of Fortescue "*De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*," and shall be happy to have it in my power to make a suitable return.

I enclose a copy of the Device by which you have displayed your skill in heraldic science, and which meets with general approbation.

I am, sir, your obedient humble servant,

(Signed) CHAS. THOMSON.

JUNE 24, 1782.

In June 1782, when Congress were about to form an armorial device for a great seal for the United States, Charles Thomson, Esq. then Secretary, with the Hon. Dr. Arthur Lee and Elias Boudinot, members of Congress, called on me and consulted me on the occasion. The Great Seal, for which I furnished those gentlemen with devices, (*as certified by Chas. Thomson, Esq.*) was adopted by Congress on the 20th of June 1782. Mr. Thomson informed me, four days after, that they met with *general approbation*.

(Signed) W. BARTON.

OCTOBER MEETING."

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, October 11th, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; the City of Boston; the Chicago Historical Society; the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences; the Impartial-Suffrage League; the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec; the Mercantile Library Association of Boston; the New-England Loyal-Publication Society; the State Historical Society of Iowa; the Publisher of the "Savannah Daily Republican"; John Appleton, M.D.; Henry G. Denny, Esq.; Ira Divoll, Esq.; Rev. S. Hopkins Emery; Hon. Samuel Hooper; Frederic Kidder, Esq.; Rev. Howard Malcom, D.D.; Mr. George Derby Welles; Mrs. Joseph E. Worcester; and from Messrs. Green, Lawrence, Lothrop, C. Robbins, Sabine, Wheatland, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President read the following letter from the Hon. B. B. French, Commissioner of Public Buildings in Washington, proposing to present to the Society an iron table, made, by his order, from pieces of the dome of the Capitol:—

Office of the Commissioner of Public Buildings, Capitol of the
United States, WASHINGTON CITY, Aug. 26, 1866.

Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have an iron table, which I had made of three pieces of the dome of the Capitol: the feet, or stand, being one of the ornaments of the inner dome, inverted; the pillar being one

of the balusters of the iron railing around the opening beneath the eye of the dome; and the leaf, a square piece cut from one of the thin iron panels. It is quite a handsome, and a very solid, affair. It has stood in my library every winter, and in my garden every summer, since it was made. It is unique, and there probably will never be another like it in the world. It stood on the platform in front of the Capitol when President Lincoln was last inaugurated; and, as soon as it was brought back to my house, I wrote upon a piece of paper the following, and stuck it, with mucilage, underneath the leaf, viz.:—

Saturday, March 4, 1865, one o'clock, P.M.

This table, formed of three pieces of iron cast for the new dome of the Capitol, stood upon the platform erected for the inaugural ceremonies of this day. It was in front of President Lincoln when he delivered his inaugural address, and a tumbler of water intended for his use stood upon it. He took the oath of office standing at its side.

B. B. FRENCH, *Commissioner of Public Buildings.*

This table I told President Lincoln I would give to him to take to Illinois as a memento of the Capitol, when he should retire from the Presidency. Alas! the hand of the assassin deprived me of that pleasure.

Then I promised Senator Foot, whose efforts for the completion of the Capitol were far beyond those of any other man, that I would make him a present of the table, to take with him to Vermont, when he retired from the Senate. He has been gathered to his fathers; and I mourn deeply and sincerely his loss, for he was my dear and cherished friend.

The table still stands in my garden, to me a sad memento.

To-day, as I was sitting in the garden, I observed that the weather had detached the paper pasted beneath the leaf, so much that it hung down in sight. I detached entirely as much as I could get of it, and the fragment is before me.

Mrs. French sat at my side, and I said to her, "I think it my duty to deposit that table in some place where it will be appreciated and preserved. It has become too sacred a relic to be lost. *I will offer it as a present to the Massachusetts Historical Society.*" Acting upon that suggestion of my mind, I now have the honor, through you, my old and respected and dear friend, to offer that table to the honored Society above mentioned. If it be accepted, I will have the table well boxed, and send it, directed as you may wish, to the Society at Boston.

If you can find a photograph of Mr. Lincoln's second inauguration,

you will see that table very prominent in the foreground of the picture.

I shall preserve the fragment of the written inscription, and replace it with some adhesive gum or paste beneath the leaf, before I send the table.

I am, dear Sir, with high respect, your sincere friend and obedient servant,

B. B. FRENCH, *Commissioner of Public Buildings.*

This donation having been gratefully accepted by the President, Mr. French announced in a letter dated September 4th, also read by the President, that the table had been boxed up and forwarded to Boston, where it had safely arrived before this meeting.

The President was directed to return the acknowledgments of the Society for this donation.

The President announced the death of the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D.D., a Corresponding Member, in the following words : —

Rev. FRANCIS L. HAWKS, D.D., died in New York on the 27th of September. He was one of the most accomplished and eloquent preachers of the Church to which he belonged, of which he had more than once refused a bishopric. Born in Newbern, North Carolina, and graduated at the University of that State, he first adopted the profession of the law, was admitted to the bar, and became a member of the North-Carolina Legislature. But he soon lost all taste for politics and legal practice, studied for the ministry, and was ordained in 1827. He was the rector of leading parishes, successively, in New Haven, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and New York; and his last clerical service was at the laying of the corner-stone of a new chapel which was to be built for him in the latter city. Dr. Hawks was not less distinguished as a literary man than as a clergyman. He was one of the

ablest and most brilliant contributors to the "New-York Review," as long as it lasted. He published a History of North Carolina, a work on Egypt and its Monuments, two volumes of contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States, and a considerable Introduction to the account of Perry's Expedition to Japan, together with some smaller works. He died at the age of sixty-eight, having been born on the 10th of June, 1798.

Mr. ELLIS AMES exhibited the original letter of John Adams, dated Quincy, January 5th, 1818, addressed to William Wirt, and printed in the Appendix to the edition of "Novanglus and Massachusettensis," of 1819, pp. 238-240. It was found in Raleigh, N.C., in a grove, by a United-States soldier, Mr. Sevey, who lent it to Mr. Ames, by whom a copy was made and presented to the Society.

Mr. WATERSTON exhibited original profiles of General Washington and of Mrs. Washington, taken from their shadow upon the wall. He also exhibited beautifully executed copies of these profiles, made by himself, which he presented to the Society. The copy of the profile of Washington bears the following inscription: "The Profile of General Washington taken from his shadow upon the wall, declared by those who knew him to be as perfect a likeness as a profile can give. The original profile from which this was taken was in the possession of Mrs. Eleanor Custis Lewis, the granddaughter of Mrs. Washington, and was presented by her to Mrs. Elizabeth Bordley Gibson, of Philadelphia. The above exact copy was made by R. C. Waterston, and was given by him to the Massachusetts Historical

Society, March, 1866." The copy of the profile of Mrs. Washington bears a similar attestation.

Mr. Waterston also exhibited and read several original letters of Washington ; whereupon, on the motion of Dr. ROBBINS, the acknowledgments of the Society were expressed to Mr. Waterston for his exact and beautiful and valuable copies of the profiles of General and Mrs. Washington.

The President presented, from Mr. Charles H. Hart, of Philadelphia, a broadside containing a list of Theses of Harvard College for the Commencement in 1759.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, November 8th, at eleven o'clock, A.M. ; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the State of Ohio ; the American Numismatic and Archæological Society ; the Chicago Historical Society ; the New-England Historic-Genealogical Society ; the New-England Loyal Publication Society ; the Proprietors of the "Heraldic Journal" ; the Proprietors of the "Savannah Daily Republican" ; John Appleton, M.D. ; Rear-Admiral Charles H. Davis ; General J. Watts De Peyster ; Rev. Thomas Hill, D.D. ; Edward Jarvis, M.D. ; Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq. ; Hon. William D. Kelly ; Mr. Wil-

liam B. Trask ; Mrs. Joseph E. Worcester ; Stephen J. Young, A.M. ; and from Messrs. W. G. Brooks, H. Gray, jun., Green, Latham, C. Robbins, Sibley, Wheatland, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President communicated, as a gift from our Honorary member, Major-General John A. Dix, a copy of his English version of the old Latin hymn, "Dies Iræ"; for which a due acknowledgment was directed to be made.

Mr. FOLSOM stated, that this grim and terrific offspring of the piety of the Middle Ages had been shorn, in later times, of its first four stanzas, as appears from one of the earliest copies of it inscribed on a marble tablet in the Church of St. Francis, at Mantua. This inscription had been printed in that rare and curious book, "*Variorum in Europa Itinerum Deliciæ*," by Nathan Chytræus, 1594 ; and it appears reprinted at full length in this Society's copy of the same Chytræus's ascetic book, in "*Viaticum Itineris Extremi*," which was formerly in the Library of the famous Rev. Nehemiah Walter, of Roxbury. If his contemporary, the Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, of Malden, had read this scenic representation of the "Day of Doom," he cannot be said to have reached its awful sublimity, which stamps it as a work of genius.

The President read a letter from General John Meredith Read, jun., asking the Society's acceptance of a copy of his recently published work on Henry Hudson, which he had transmitted to the Society ; and a proper acknowledgment was voted for this acceptable gift.

The President read a letter from Colonel C. E. Potter, of Hillsborough, N.H., asking leave to copy, from the

MSS. in the Library, "the rolls of the New-Hampshire troops in the expedition against Louisburgh, in 1745," to be published in a volume now in the press: whereupon it was *Ordered*, That Colonel Potter's request be granted.

The President referred to the recent death of our Corresponding Member, Theodore Dwight, Esq., who was accidentally killed at the railway station at Jersey City, October 16th, 1866.

Mr. Dwight was elected a member on the 27th of March, 1834, having just then returned from Europe, and was regarded as a young man of much promise. His father, the Hon. Theodore Dwight, was elected a Corresponding Member on the same day.

The President laid before the Society the Letter and Trust Instrument of our Honorary Member, George Peabody, Esq. (as published in the "Boston Daily Advertiser," October 19th, 1866), establishing a Museum and Professorship of American Archæology and Ethnology in connection with Harvard University, and naming the President of this Society, *ex officio*, for ever one of the Trustees.

Whereupon the following resolution was submitted:—

Resolved, That Mr. Peabody's Letter and Instrument of Trust be entered in full on the records of this Society; and that the President be instructed to communicate to Mr. Peabody the deep and grateful sense which is entertained by us all of the interest and importance of the Institution which he has thus founded, and of the munificence and wisdom with which he has provided for its management and support.

Dr. WALKER then addressed the meeting as follows:—

I feel sure, Mr. President, that this Resolution will be unanimously adopted by the Society. It seems to me, as I suppose it does to all, that Mr. Peabody has bestowed on our University a noble endowment for a noble purpose,—an endowment, moreover, which it was eminently fit for him to confer, and for the oldest seat of learning in the land to receive. Down to a comparatively recent period, Harvard College has been obliged to exhaust her resources on the traditionary course of a liberal education; but the time has come when she will be expected to do her part, not merely in diffusing, but also in advancing, human knowledge. There is now one important subject, the archæology and anthropology of the American continent, on which, after the liberal provision that has just been made, it will be her own fault if she does not take the lead. Thus far, this subject, and the kindred inquiries, have been left, for the most part, in the hands of voluntary associations; and the public is under great obligations to them for what they have done. Mr. Peabody, as it seems to me, has shown great wisdom by connecting his new institution, to some extent, with two of the oldest of these societies; so that, hereafter, we may have the benefit of both agencies, acting with more effect, because more likely to act in harmony and together for a common object.

Mr. President, I have no doubt that Mr. Peabody looks for his principal satisfaction to the good that will result from his munificent foundations: still, I should be sorry if he failed to have the additional satisfaction of knowing, that those to whom he has committed his trusts enter heartily and zealously into his plans.

The resolution was seconded by Dr. BIGELOW, who also addressed the meeting. Remarks were also made by Mr. J. C. GRAY and the Rev. EDWARD E. HALE. Mr. Hale spoke as follows:—

I should not venture to add any thing, Mr. President, to what has been so fitly said, but that you have asked me to say something in acknowledgment of so great a gift to science, because, in some sort, I represent here the Government of the American Antiquarian Society. In the establishment of the proposed museum, and of the professorship connected with it, under Mr. Peabody's munificent endowment, the Antiquarian Society saw the fulfilment of a cherished wish which it had entertained for half a century; and its Government is confident, that, in the administration of this endowment, the studies of the American antiquary would be redeemed from any unfair suspicion which has considered them petty, or unworthy of profound scientific attention.

Have we not been somewhat disposed to think, that these arrow-points and pestles and stone axe-heads, such as I have brought down stairs from our own collection, were hardly worth a place in our museum? Or if any explorer southward or westward brought us his contributions of the work of our own native tribes, have we not been apt to think that they were mere curiosities, with little value for science? Now, in the recent study of the antiquity of the human race, these very illustrations of what has been called the Stone Age are claiming a place of the very first importance in the study of the real primeval history of the world.

And, Mr. President, so far as I am aware, Mr. Peabody, in his letter of gift, is the first person who has publicly called attention to the invaluable illustration which the antiquarian study of this country will thus give to this new science, which seeks to set in order the social progress of the world, — its moral palæontology, if I may hazard the expression, of which we here can illustrate some of the steps far better than they can be illustrated in Europe. The little specimens which I have placed on the table — some of them the work of nature; and some, to appearance much less carefully wrought, the undoubted work of man — will show how difficult it is

for an untrained observer to say with certainty, in a given instance, whether a relic from another age is or is not a memorial of human art. In point of fact, the tools from the alluvium of the Somme, figured by M. Boucher de Perthes in his "*Antiquités Celtiques*," were so rudely shaped, that many persons supposed they were stones which owed their peculiar forms to accidental fracture in a river's bed. In such ways the whole series of questions connected with the memorials of the Stone Age discovered in Europe, have been embarrassed, from the fact, that the scientific men of Europe, in studying that age, with them so distant, have been obliged to construct their theories simply from the handful of specimens preserved through so many intervening ages, — materials which were themselves the material under discussion. We here, however, have the Stone Age at hand; we can match these arrow-points and axe-heads from our own collections of thousands of such articles, the work of a race not yet passed away. If we wish, we can question the men who have used them, — nay, can see them as they make them. And here is one more instance to be added to so many which are successively forced upon us, which show that our antiquarian studies are in fact not the baby talk of the infants of a new world, but are studies relating to the very oldest world, and indeed to the very foundation of social order.

You remember, Mr. President, how often Mr. Agassiz dwells upon the fact, that when it pleased God to divide the land from the water, — when "fields grew green," where for thousands of years "oceans only had gathered," — the first beach which rose above the icy waves was the strip of land which Mr. Agassiz calls "the Laurentian Hills." It is the strip which we have all heard described so many times — and in the language of geology also — as "the highlands dividing the waters of the St. Lawrence from the waters of the Atlantic." That was the phrase used by Adams and Franklin in our first treaty with England, and the commis-

sioners chose that oldest ridge of land to be the eternal division between the two countries which were just then parted. All of us have noticed the curious revelation of recent science, which has pointed out the fact, that this region, made so familiar to us in the struggles of diplomacy, should prove to be really a landmark so ancient. Now, with every fresh revelation of science, Sir, we are seeing more distinctly that the studies of this older continent are in every way essential to the studies of our younger sister continent on the other side of the ocean.

It seems to me a very striking illustration of the comprehensive views of Mr. Peabody, that, while he was engaged in that work for the world to which a great merchant is called, he should have perceived the intimacy of the connection between the antiquarian study of this country, and what I have a right to call the newly created antiquarian science of Europe. These views of the antiquity of man, in which Professor Lyell has excited such wide popular interest, are but just now announced to the European world. Mr. Peabody has instantly seized on the fact, that, in this older world, we have peculiar advantages for illustrating them. Deeply interested himself in the new studies by which the geologists of Europe are illustrating the antiquity of the race, he has seen that we have here peculiar opportunity for contributing to those studies facts of great interest, and observations impossible, excepting where the forms of the oldest social order may be studied while still alive. Observing this, with the most liberal endowment he creates the new institution which is to preserve the memorials, and give persistency to the studies, which are necessary in the illustration.

I hold in my hand, and should gladly read here if I had not occupied so much of the Society's time, a letter from Mr. Abbott Lawrence, written when he was our minister in England, acknowledging, in the most cordial way, the important services which Mr. Peabody again and again rendered,

in preserving a kindly feeling between America and England. He seems to have consecrated the immense influence which he has so worthily acquired, to those friendly offices which best unite two lands that should be parted only by the ocean. The last great service we acknowledge to-day, in which Mr. Peabody shows us how the antiquarian science of each continent may contribute to that of the other,—how essential, indeed, for the deepest research of each continent is the kindred research which at the same moment presses its inquiries in the other,—this last great service fitly illustrates that work of mediation and good feeling to which this distinguished man has so successfully devoted the efforts of his life.

I say no more, Mr. President, because I am speaking in the presence of the President of the Antiquarian Society, who is himself joined with you in the administration of this endowment. If you and I had known that he would be here to-day, you would hardly have asked me to address the Society. As he is present, I will not say more in a matter which is so peculiarly his own.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Peabody's letter and instrument of gift are as follows:—

GEORGETOWN, Oct. 8, 1866.

To the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, His Excellency Charles Francis Adams, Francis Peabody, Stephen Salisbury, Asa Gray, Jeffries Wyman, and George Peabody Russell, Esquires.

GENTLEMEN,—Accompanying this letter, I enclose an instrument giving to you one hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$150,000) in trust for the foundation and maintenance of a Museum and Professorship of American Archæology and Ethnology, in connection with Harvard University.

I have for some years had the purpose of contributing, as I might find opportunity, to extend the usefulness of the honored and ancient University of our Commonwealth; and I trust, that, in view of the

importance and national character of the proposed department, and its interesting relations to kindred investigations in other countries, the means I have chosen may prove acceptable.

On learning of your acceptance of the trust, and of the assent of the President and Fellows of Harvard College to its terms, I shall be prepared to pay over to you the sum I have named.

Aside from the provisions of the instrument of gift, I leave in your hands the details and management of the trust; only suggesting, that, in view of the gradual obliteration or destruction of the works and remains of the ancient races of this continent, the labor of exploration and collection be commenced at as early a day as practicable; and also, that, in the event of the discovery in America of human remains or implements of an earlier geological period than the present, especial attention be given to their study and their comparison with those found in other countries.

With the hope that the museum, as thus established and maintained, may be instrumental in promoting and extending its department of science, and with fullest confidence that under your care the best means will be adopted to secure the end desired,

I am, with great respect, your humble servant,

GEORGE PEABODY.

I do hereby give to Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston; Charles Francis Adams, of Quincy; Francis Peabody, of Salem; Stephen Salisbury, of Worcester; Asa Gray, of Cambridge; Jeffries Wyman, of Cambridge; and George Peabody Russell, of Salem,—all of Massachusetts,—the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, to be by them and their successors held in trust to found and maintain a Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology, in connection with Harvard University, in the city of Cambridge and Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Of this sum I direct that my said trustees shall invest forty-five thousand dollars as a fund, the income of which shall be applied to forming and preserving collections of antiquities, and objects relating to the early races of the American continent, or such (including such books and works as may form a good working library for the departments of science indicated) as shall be requisite for the investigation and illustration of Archæology and Ethnology in general, in main and special reference, however, to the aboriginal American races.

I direct that the income of the further sum of forty-five thousand dollars shall be applied by my said trustees to the establishment and

maintenance of a Professorship of American Archæology and Ethnology in Harvard University. The professor shall be appointed by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, with the concurrence of the Overseers, in the same manner as other professors are appointed, but upon the nomination of the founder or the Board of Trustees. He shall have charge of the above-mentioned collections, and shall deliver one or more courses of lectures annually, under the direction of the Government of the University, on subjects connected with said departments of science.

Until this professorship is filled, or during the time it may be vacant, the income from the fund appropriated to it shall be devoted to the care and increase of the collections.

I further direct, that the remaining sum of sixty thousand dollars be invested and accumulated as a Building Fund, until it shall amount to at least one hundred thousand dollars, when it may be employed in the erection of a suitable fire-proof museum building, upon land to be given for that purpose, free of cost or rental, by the President and Fellows of Harvard College; the building, when completed, to become the property of the College, for the uses of this trust, and none other.

The Board of Trustees I have thus constituted, shall always be composed of seven persons; and it is my wish, that the office of chairman be filled by Mr. Winthrop; in the event of his death or resignation, by Mr. Adams: and so successively in the order I have named above. The trustees shall keep a record of their doings, and shall annually prepare a report setting forth the condition of the trust and funds, and the amount of income received and paid out by them during the previous year. This report, signed by the trustees, shall be presented to the President and Fellows of the College.

In the event of the death or resignation of Mr. Winthrop, I direct that the vacancy in the number of the Board be filled by the President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, who, *ex officio*, shall for ever after be a member of the Board. In the event of the death or resignation of Mr. Peabody, the vacancy to be filled by the President of the scientific body now established in the city of Salem, under the name of the Essex Institute; of Mr. Salisbury, by the President of the American Antiquarian Society; of Professor Gray, by the President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; and of Professor Wyman, by the President of the Boston Society of Natural History, — all of whom shall for ever after be, *ex officio*, members of the Board.

Should the President of either of the societies I have named decline to act as a trustee, such vacancy, and all other vacancies that may occur in the number of the trustees, shall be filled by the remaining trustees, who shall, within a reasonable time, make the appointment or appointments.

I give to my said trustees the liberty to obtain from the Legislature an Act of Incorporation, if they deem it desirable; to make all necessary by-laws; to appoint a treasurer; and to enter into any arrangements and agreements with the Government of Harvard College, not inconsistent with the terms of this trust, which may, in their opinion, be expedient.

GEORGETOWN, Oct. 8, 1866.

(Signed) GEORGE PEABODY.

The following Resolution, offered by Mr. DEANE, was unanimously adopted: —

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the Treasurer, Mr. Frothingham, for his faithful discharge of the duties of Recording Secretary during the recent temporary absence of that officer.

Mr. WATERSTON, after some remarks relative to St. Botolph's Church, in Boston, England, which he visited some years since, presented to the Society a beautiful photograph of that church, with the surrounding buildings. On the back of the picture, which is appropriately framed, is a drawing of the house regarded as that in which John Cotton, the vicar, lived; also a copy of the Seal of St. Botolph's Priory at Colchester, said to be "the only mediæval figure of St. Botolph in existence," — both executed by Mr. Waterston, with his pen.*

The thanks of the Society were expressed to Mr. Waterston for the gift.

* See Thompson's "History and Antiquities of Boston," (England,) pp. 214, 372.

DECEMBER MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, December 13th, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; the City of Boston; the American Numismatic and Archæological Society; the American Tract Society, New York; the Chicago Historical Society; the Lawrence Academy, Groton; the New-Hampshire Historical Society; the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History; the Trustees of the Public Library of the City of Boston; the Editors of "The Advocate"; the Proprietors of the "Savannah Daily Republican"; John Appleton, M.D.; Mr. John Clark; Henry B. Dawson, Esq.; Franklin B. Dexter, Esq.; Ira Divoll, Esq.; Henry W. Haynes, Esq.; Rev. Richard M. Hodges; Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq.; Rev. Isaac P. Langworthy; Orsamus H. Marshall, Esq.; Joel Munsell, Esq.; Captain George H. Preble, U.S.N.; Hon. Alexander H. Rice; Mr. L. W. Schmidt; and from Messrs. Deane, Green, Hillard, Latham, C. Robbins, Sibley, Wheatland, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President called attention to a copy of a privately printed "Memoir of General Thomas Greely Stevenson," who was killed at Spottsylvania on the 10th of May, 1864, presented by his father, J. Thomas Stevenson, Esq., for which a suitable acknowledgment was directed to be made.

The President referred to the death of our associate, the venerable William Jenks, D.D., in the following language:—

A few days only after our last monthly meeting, we were called to attend the funeral of our late venerable associate, the Rev. William Jenks, D.D., who died in this city, on the thirteenth day of November, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. It is fit that we should devote a little time this morning, before proceeding to other business, to some notice of one who stood second in seniority upon our roll, who was the oldest in years of our whole number, and whose presence at these meetings we have so often and so recently welcomed.

Dr. Jenks was a native of Massachusetts, having been born in the neighboring town of Newton, on the 25th of November, 1778. He was a pupil of our Boston Public Latin School, and a graduate of Harvard University in the Class of 1797. Devoting himself to theological studies, after a few years of service as a teacher of youth and as a reader in the Episcopal Church at Cambridge, he was settled as pastor of a Congregational Church at Bath, in the then District of Maine. In 1818 he returned to Boston; and, after spending a few years more in the work of the education of youth, and in missionary labors among the seamen and among the poor, he became pastor of a church in Green Street, in this city, where he continued to officiate for not less than a quarter of a century.

Of his services as a minister of the Gospel, it belongs more appropriately to others, here and elsewhere, to bear testimony. Nor would it become me to pronounce a judgment on the great work which he undertook and executed in immediate connection with his theological pursuits. It is enough for me to name his comprehensive "Commentary on the Bible," published in six imperial 8vo volumes, between 1834 and 1838, of which not less than twenty thousand copies were

subscribed for, of which new editions have repeatedly been called for, and of which Dr. Allibone, in his excellent "Dictionary of Authors," has recently said, that "it still stands without a rival for the purpose for which it is intended."

I may be permitted, however, to speak more in detail of him, in his relations to this and other kindred societies, and to the literary and historical pursuits in which we are engaged.

Dr. Jenks was elected a member of this Society on the same day with the illustrious Daniel Webster, the 27th of August, 1821. He was our Librarian for nine years, — from 1823 to 1832; and was a member of the Committee of Publication for two of our volumes of Collections, — one of them published in 1825, and the other in 1852. Among his contributions to these and others of our volumes, I may mention, — A detailed account of our Society, its origin and progress, its members, its proceedings and publications, during the first half-century of its existence; a Memoir of the Rev. Dr. Holmes, the author of the "American Annals;" Memoirs of the Rev. Dr. John Codman and the Rev. Dr. Charles Lowell; and a Notice of the Sieur D'Aulnay, of Acadie, translated from the French. Nor certainly can I forget his excellent Memoir of one of our former Presidents, the late Lieutenant-governor Winthrop.

Dr. Jenks had rendered many and peculiar services, also, to the American Antiquarian Society, of which he was the senior Vice-President at his death. He not only delivered their first Anniversary Address, in 1813, but was privileged again to deliver an address before them on the occasion of their Semi-centennial Celebration, at Worcester, only three years since, when more than one of those here present enjoyed with me the rich gratification of listening to a learned and vigorous discourse on American Archæology, from one whose age covered more than one-third of the whole time which had elapsed since the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth.

During his pastorate at Bath, Dr. Jenks was connected with the government of Bowdoin College (then recently established at Brunswick, in Maine), first as Secretary of the Board of Trustees, and afterwards as Professor of Oriental and English Literature. In this connection, he was called on to pronounce a eulogy on the Hon. James Bowdoin, the munificent benefactor of that institution. This eulogy, delivered on the 2d of September, 1812, and soon afterwards published in an elegant quarto pamphlet, exhibited great familiarity both with the history of the Huguenot race, from which the Bowdoin family were descended, and of the great events of our own State and nation, with which the elder and the younger Bowdoin had been more or less prominently associated.

I may not attempt, on this occasion, to give a complete account of all Dr. Jenks's literary and historical labors. From his first contribution of a succinct history of the Swiss Republic to the "Literary Miscellany," at Cambridge, in 1804, his pen seems never to have been idle. Not merely in his weekly sermons, — not merely in his numerous occasional addresses, reports, and pamphlets; but in the columns of the public journals also, — generally in prose, but sometimes in verse, — he gave frequent utterance to his thoughts and emotions on passing events, whether of religious or of secular interest. Observing, in one of our daily papers, an elaborate ode, with its strophes and anti-strophes, on the visit of the Prince of Wales to Boston in 1860, I inquired of the editor whose it was; and he told me it came from the octogenarian, Dr. Jenks. An equally elaborate ode to Garibaldi, the patriot of Italy, had preceded it from the same pen in 1859.

Among the anonymous publications of Dr. Jenks, there is one, however, of still more curious interest. It was published in 1808, and entitled "Memoir of the Northern Kingdom, written A.D. 1872, by the late Rev. Williamson Jahnsenkyes, LL.D., and Honorary Member of the Royal American Board of Literature, in Six Letters to his Son. Now first published.

Quebeck, A.D. 1901." It was a political *jeu d'esprit*, of no common felicity, written during the party heats which attended the close of Mr. Jefferson's Presidency, and was designed to portray the danger of a dissolution of the Union, and the overturn of our republican institutions. Meeting our venerable friend in the street, on New-year's Day, 1863, — after exchanging the salutations of the season, — I told him I had found a copy of a pamphlet bearing this title, among my father's books; and I ventured to ask him, through that ponderous ear-trumpet, — which was the badge of the only infirmity he had, — whether he was the author of it. He replied, without an instant's hesitation, that he was.

I forbear, Gentlemen, to detain you longer by dwelling on that Christian kindness and courtesy which eminently marked the whole demeanor of our departed friend, endearing him so much to all who knew him intimately, and securing for him the respect and regard of our whole community. Upon these and other traits of his character, there are those present whose testimony will be more appropriate than my own; and I hasten, therefore, to submit, for your adoption, with the assent of our Standing Committee, the following resolution: —

Resolved, That, in the death of the Rev. William Jenks, D.D., this Society has lost one of its most respected and accomplished members; and that the President be instructed to nominate one of our number to prepare a memoir of him for the next volume of the Society's Proceedings.

Dr. ROBBINS then spoke as follows: —

By your permission, Mr. President, I move the acceptance of the resolution offered by the Standing Committee, in honor of our late venerable associate; not because I can add any thing to what you have so justly and feelingly said concerning his character and accomplishments, but to gratify the feelings of respect and attachment, which, in common with all who knew him, I cherish for his memory.

My recollection of him reaches back to the period of my boyhood, nearly fifty years ago. He then appeared to me quite old, and impressed me with reverence as a saintly man. This impression did not fade, as is too often the case, with advancing years and more intimate acquaintance; but, on the contrary, has been confirmed and deepened by maturer observation and intercourse.

The epithet which our blessed Lord applied to Nathanael seems to me singularly appropriate to him: "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile!"

The extent and variety of his knowledge, his contributions to Biblical and antiquarian literature, and his numerous and valuable services as a preacher, an instructor, a citizen, and a member of several learned societies, worthy as they are of honorable recognition, do not, I think, constitute his highest title to respect. This is secured rather by those admirable moral and Christian characteristics which adorned and distinguished his life.

There was an air of sanctity about him, such as we associate with the best of our Puritan ancestors, or with the holier prophets of more ancient times. He walked and sat amongst us as a type and relic of a truly noble order of men, — the liberally educated Congregational clergymen and Christian gentlemen of the last century.

Though of diminutive stature, there was a dignity in his carriage and a courtliness in his manners, which, in connection with the expansion of his brow, gave a certain stateliness to his person. The preciseness and slight formality, which no one could fail to notice, were relieved and softened by the kindness of his disposition, and the habitual civility and urbanity of his address.

He is a man who will be missed, not only in his family, in his church, and in these halls, where his presence has been so long and so frequently welcomed, but in the streets of our city. Even if his works and virtues were less availing to

save his name from oblivion, his venerable image itself has left a stamp upon the memory of his fellow-citizens which cannot be effaced.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted; and Dr. Blagden was appointed to prepare a memoir of Dr. Jenks, for the Society's volume of Proceedings.

A letter was read from Dr. S. S. Purple, of New York, asking for a copy of a paper contained in a volume of the "Heath Papers" (vol. i. p. 29, No. 30), being Minutes of a "Court of Inquiry on the causes of a complaint against the Director-General of the Hospital, September 19th, 1775."

The application of Dr. Purple was granted under the rules, and was referred to the Recording Secretary.

Mr. Henry G. Denny, of Dorchester, was elected a Resident Member. General John Meredith Read, jun., of Albany, N.Y., and Joseph Jackson Howard, Esq., of Blackheath, Kent County, England, were elected Corresponding Members.

Mr. WATERSTON exhibited a finely executed bronze medal, being a copy of a gold medal presented to Major-General George G. Meade, by the Union League of Philadelphia, July 4, 1865, as a token of the gratitude of his country. On the obverse of the medal is a medallion portrait of General Meade; on the reverse, this inscription: "The Victor of Gettysburg, the Deliverer of the State, the faithful Soldier of our Country, July, 1863."

Mr. DEANE said he wished to call the attention of members to a volume then lying upon the table, which

had not been announced by the President among the other donations to the Library that had been specially noticed at this meeting. He referred to the "Life and Letters of John Winthrop, from his embarkation for New England, in 1630, with the Charter and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, to his death in 1649. By Robert C. Winthrop." Mr. Deane said, that he would not, in the presence of the author, speak of this book in the terms he should otherwise be tempted to employ: he only hoped that others might derive the same pleasure from the perusal of it which he had done. It may be regarded as a companion volume to that published three years since, and entitled "Life and Letters of John Winthrop, Governor of the Massachusetts-Bay Company, at their Emigration to New England, 1630," by the same author.

The President read a letter from the Rev. John Waddington, D.D., pastor of the Church of the Pilgrim Fathers, in Southwark, dated "9, Surrey Square, London, October 9th, 1866," communicating a "Copy of a Record in the Public Records, entitled 'State Papers, Domestic. — Elizabeth.' Bundles for Incorporation. No. 1." The papers consisted of a protest against the corruptions of the English Church, signed by twenty-seven persons. Dr. Waddington says, "I found these documents several years ago, and printed some extracts from them in a volume of tracts entitled 'Historical Papers. First Series, Congregational Martyrs. London: Paternoster Row, 1861.' On comparing the names of the members of the church of Richard Fitz [with this list of names] it will be found that they formed part of a

number of Separatists, who worshipped in Plumber's Hall, Anchor Lane, London, (in Thames Street,) June 19th, 1567, and who were committed to the Bridewell Prison, June 20, 1569."*

MR. FOLSOM read a communication to the Society, in the form of a letter addressed to himself, from our Corresponding Member, J. Hammond Trumbull, Esq., of Hartford, Conn. He remarked, that he considered himself as favored in being the medium of this communication, which he hoped was the precursor of other similar papers on detached topics relating to the aboriginal dialects of New England. This branch of our antiquities no one of the present generation has cultivated so successfully as Mr. Trumbull; sufficient evidence of which appears in his learned and acute annotation of Roger Williams's "Key into the Language of America," just published by the "Narragansett Club" in Providence. The inhabitants of "Shawmut," in all its future extent, will be interested in this investigation of Mr. Trumbull. The Indian names of other important localities in New England await a like exhaustive treatment at his hands.

CHARLES FOLSOM, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR,—At your suggestion, I venture to submit to you the results of my analysis of the name by which the peninsula of Boston is said to have been known to the Indians thereabout. If you find herein any thing likely to interest, or deserving the consideration of, the Historical Society, and if you think they will pardon the informality of the communication, I shall be doubly gratified.

* It is understood that Dr. Waddington is now engaged on an important work relating to the history of Dissent in England, which will include the "Fitz Papers," of which he has here communicated a portion. We refrain, therefore, from publishing at present what he has so generously communicated to the Society. — Eds.

Before discussing the signification of this name, it will be necessary to restore to its modern form (Shawmut) a lost initial.

Wood, in the "Nomenclator" appended to his "New England's Prospect," gives *Mishaum* as the Indian name of Charles River, and obviously intended to give *Mishaum* and *Mishaumut* for "Charles towne" and "Boston," respectively, — though his printer dropped the English name of each town a line below the Indian equivalent.

On the Indian title-page of a translation of the "Confession of Faith," made by Grindal Rawson and printed in 1699, *Mushawwomuk* stands, in the imprint, for "Boston" on the English title-page opposite. The name appears in the same form in the imprint of the translation of Cotton Mather's "Epistle to the Christian Indians" (*Wusukwhonk en Christianeue, &c.*), printed at Boston in 1700, — a copy of which is, I believe, in the Historical Society's library.

Assuming this to be the form which, in Eliot's notation, most exactly represents the original, we immediately discover the striking resemblance, if not the identity, of the names given to the two opposite peninsulas and to the river which separates them, — to the homes of Thomas Walford on one side of *Mishaum* River, and of William Blackstone on the other. *Mishaum*, *Mishaumut*, and *Mushawwomuk* differ only by their grammatical forms.

And now for the etymology. *Mushcon*, or *Mishcon* (Eliot wrote the word both ways, the first vowel being obscure, or merely representing a sheva) signifies a *boat* or *canoe*; more exactly, a canoe made by hollowing out the trunk of a tree, as distinguished from the light and frail *bark* canoe. In Eliot's translation, *mushcon* is used for "boat"; as in John vi. 22, Acts xxvii. 30. Cotton, in his Vocabulary, writes *mushhōan* (3 Mass. Hist. Coll., ii. 163). In composition, the final *n* would necessarily be discarded, for it belongs to the *grammar*, not to the *root*. Indeed, a comparison of the forms in which this word is found, in vocabularies of the Algonkin dialects, shows that this final *n* is not constant. In the vocabularies appended to Mr. Gallatin's Report, we find for the Old Algonkin, *shiman*; Long Island, *mashuee*, &c.; in the modern Ojibwa, *chemaún*; and, in a manuscript vocabulary made by President Stiles, *meshwē* is given as the Pequot (or Mohegan) and *Umpshu* as the Narragansett word for "canoe."

The verb of simple motion — that which expressed merely the notion of *going* — was, in the third person singular of the indicative present, *com*, or, as Eliot sometimes wrote (with the pronominal prefix of the third person), *wcom*: in the plural, *comwog*, "they go."

In combination with other words, denoting the direction, manner, or agency, of going, Eliot writes *-ohham*, and *-hom*, for the singular: as, *pummohham*, he goes *by sea*; *nohham*, or *nohhom*, he goes *by sailing*, he sails, (*en nohhamun*, "to sail to," Acts xx. 16); *sohham* (= *soh-com*) he goes *forth*, &c. For *comwog*, Roger Williams writes, in the Narragansett dialect, *homwock*, "they go."

From *mushcon*, or *meshwe*, "boat," and *comwog* or *homwock*, "they go," would be formed *mushcoahomwog*, or something like it, — "they go by boat" or "by canoe." In Roger Williams's "Key," we find this phrase as one of familiar use in Narragansett: "*Comishoon-hómmis?* Did you *come by boats?*" (p. 8). "*Comishoónhom?* Go you *by water?*" (p. 109). "*Mishoon homwock*, *They go*, or *come, by water*," i.e. by canoe (p. 72).

We are now near the mark. It is not far from *mishoon homwock* to *Mushawwomuk*; but the *grammar* is not yet satisfactory. The Indians never employed a verb in the indicative plural as the name of a place. But a form very often used for that purpose was what may be termed a conditional-verbal, or gerundive, — having the termination of the third person singular of the conditional-present, passive, in *-muk*. This form was much employed where, in English, we should use the infinitive, or an abstract noun. Examples may be seen in Eliot's translation of Eccles. iii. 3-7; "a time *to kill*, — *to build up*, — *to weep*, — *to dance*;" where the verbs, preceded by the particle *ad* (= Latin *ad*), are *nushehteamuk*, *ayimuk*, *maumuk*, *pumukómuk*, &c., signifying "when (where, or, if) there is killed," or, "when killing (building, weeping, &c.) is." So *Mushawwomuk* may be literally translated, "Where there is going by boat," or "where they go by boat"; and the name was applicable to any place on a river, or arm of the sea, from which boats habitually crossed to the bank or shore opposite, — in a word, to any *Ferry*. How early the crossing-place of the Charles River and the peninsulas on either side received this name, we have no means of ascertaining. I have seen no earlier authority for *Mishaum* and *Mishaumut* than Wood's "Nomenclator," and, two years before Wood wrote, there was a ferry established between Charlestown and Boston, and "a ferry-boate to conveigh passengers over Charles River, which betweene the two Townes is a quarter of a mile over" (Col. Records, i. 81, 88; N. E. Prospect, part i. ch. 10). Edward Converse's ferry-boat may, possibly, have suggested the name: but it is far more probable that it was given long before the coming of the English to the points on both sides of the river, between which the Indians were accustomed to cross in their canoes.

Other ferries besides that of the Charles were similarly designated. Compare, with the localities to which they are applied, the variously corrupted names of *Shaomet*, *Shawomock* or *Shawomut* (otherwise written *Mishawomet*), in Warwick, R.I.; a neck of land running into Narragansett Bay, on the west side of Providence River and between it and Cowesit Bay; and also the name of another point of land, now in Somerset, running southwesterly into the Bay from Slade's Ferry (Parsons's "Indian Names of Places in Rhode Island," p. 25); *Mishawum*, a neck and point in Dartmouth, Mass.; *Meeshawon* in Truro and Provincetown, and *Shaume* river and neck in Sandwich (Plym. Col. Rec., i. 134).

It is vexatious to be compelled to make so long a story of a morsel of Indian: but I could not well make it shorter without omitting some step in (what seems to me) the demonstration. So many guesses at the meaning of *Shawmut* have been proffered, that I would not suggest a new etymology, unless I was very confident it was well founded: and I wish that you and others to whom it may be communicated, before deciding to accept or to reject it, should have an opportunity of tracing the several steps by which it was arrived at.

Yesterday, I read the proof of the last signature of a reprint of Williams's "Key,"—soon to be issued by the "Narragansett Club," of Providence. I hope soon to have the pleasure of offering a copy to the acceptance of the Historical Society. Some years ago, a diligent antiquary published a town-history, in the Preface to which he remarked, that "the following pages had greatly encroached on the hours which *should have been* devoted to sleep." Possibly you will be disposed to say as much of my notes on the "Key;" but, if time and paper are wasted, I must throw much of the responsibility upon yourself, for I should not have consented to undertake the work, had it not been for your instigation to write down whatever came uppermost, without waiting for leisure to revise or recast.

I am, my dear Sir, very respectfully and truly yours,

J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

HARTFORD, Nov. 5, 1866.

Mr. AMORY read the following paper on the military character and services of General John Sullivan, of New Hampshire:—

THE MEMORY OF GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, VINDICATED FROM HISTORICAL MISREPRESENTATIONS.

IN a recently published volume by George Bancroft, the ninth of a work entitled "History of the United States," and the third of that portion of it devoted to the American Revolution, certain errors are found which require correction. These reflect upon the character and conduct of several of our most honored Revolutionary officers,—in part being, it is conceived, mistakes of judgment; in other instances, misapprehensions of fact. The present object is to set right those that relate to Major-General John Sullivan, of New Hampshire.

It is unfortunate for his fame, that, with the exception of the brief memoir in the Third Volume of the Second Series of Sparks's "American Biography," no separate account has been given either of his civil or his military career. The hope had been indulged, that some citizen of New Hampshire, familiar with the part taken by that State in the war, and with the character and services of its historical personages who co-operated with Sullivan in his labors, would have felt called upon to become his biographer. But this hope has been disappointed.

His immediate descendants, incessantly employed in public or professional labor, have had neither leisure nor disposition to establish his claim to be remembered with respect among the patriots who founded the republic. But, now that aspersions have been without foundation cast upon his discretion and generalship, it has become the duty of those by whom his memory is cherished, to protect it. It might well have been wished, that some abler writer, better qualified to do justice to his devotion to the cause of his country at the critical period of its Revolutionary struggle, would have assumed the

task. In submitting with diffidence to the candor of the public and the Society, this vindication of his military character from reproaches, unwarranted by contemporary evidence, and at variance with the opinion entertained of his qualifications for command by the best and ablest of his brother officers, confidence is indulged that judgment will be reserved until both sides have been heard.

Although the name of General Sullivan and his services are generally familiar to students of American history, a brief recital of the principal incidents of his career is indispensable to a clear view or just estimate of so much of it as has been misrepresented by Mr. Bancroft. He was born at Somersworth, in New Hampshire, on the opposite side of the river from Berwick, in Maine, which was his early home, 18th February, 1740, receiving from his father, who had himself enjoyed the advantages of a liberal culture in Europe, a good education. After a voyage to the West Indies, he became a member of the family of the Hon. Isaac Livermore, a lawyer of Portsmouth, in extensive practice, and, under his instruction, prepared himself for his profession. He early exhibited ability of a high order; gained the respect and encouragement of his instructor; and soon attained, by his industry, learning, and eloquence, a distinguished position at the bar of New Hampshire. Such was his professional success, that, soon after his marriage at the age of twenty, he purchased the commodious dwelling at Durham, still in good preservation, which continued to be his abode for the remainder of his life, and that of his widow till her death in 1820.

For the next ten years, he was constantly employed in lucrative causes, taking an elevated rank as an able advocate and judicious counsellor. He enjoyed the friendship of the Wentworths and the Langdons, as well as that of Lowell, Adams, and Otis, leading members of the Massachusetts Bar. He early promoted the introduction into New Hampshire of

that manufacturing industry to which she owes so large a portion of her present prosperity, established cloth and fulling mills at Durham, and, before the breaking out of the war, had already accumulated, if not wealth, a handsome competence.

Of a robust constitution and active spirit, he had a natural taste for military life; and although, with the exception of uniting with his father and brothers in the defence of Berwick from occasional attacks by the Indians, he had, before our Revolutionary period, no actual experience of warfare, heroes of Louisbourg abounded in his neighborhood, inciting emulation. He is said to have devoted, in his historical studies, particular attention to military movements and engagements, and to have been able accurately to describe most of the great battles of ancient and modern times. In 1772, at the age of thirty-one, he held a colonial commission as major, and improved his opportunity for becoming acquainted with the practical details, as well as the rudiments, of military science.

His ardent nature and his abhorrence of oppression, his contributions to the political press, and his extended influence and popularity, marked him early as a leader in the impending struggle. In the spring of 1774, he was a member of the Provincial Assembly of New Hampshire, and, in September of the same year, was sent to Philadelphia as one of the New-Hampshire delegation to the Continental Congress. His name appeared on many of the most important committees of the latter body; and he took his part in its deliberations, standing well with his associates.

Soon after his return home, he planned, with Thomas Pickering and John Langdon, an attack, on the night of the 12th of December, upon Fort William and Mary, at Newcastle, in Portsmouth Harbor, — one of the earliest acts of hostility against the Mother Country; and, by the aid of a portion of a force he had been for some months engaged in drilling in their military

exercises, in preparation for the anticipated conflict, carried ninety-seven kegs of powder and a quantity of small arms, in gondolas, to Durham, where they were concealed, in part, under the pulpit of its meeting-house. Soon after the battles of Lexington and Concord, in April, had aroused the people to a realizing sense that they were actually engaged in hostilities, these much-needed supplies were brought by him to the lines at Cambridge, where he marched with his company, and were used at the battle of Bunker Hill.

Immediately after the attack on the fort, the Governor of the Province issued a proclamation, declaring the offenders guilty of high treason, and offering a reward for their apprehension. In open defiance of his authority, Major Sullivan, Lieutenant Adams, and other citizens of Durham holding civil or military commissions from the king, assembled at the Adams tavern, and, with Sullivan at their head, moved in procession to the Common, near the meeting-house, where they kindled a bonfire, and, in the presence of a large number of persons, burned their commissions, uniforms, and all other insignia which in any way connected them with the royal government.

Resuming his place, on the 10th of May, in the Congress, he was placed on many of its most important committees, and of that of war was chairman. When, soon after, Dickinson moved a second address to the king, John Adams says Sullivan opposed it in a strain of wit, eloquence, and fluency, unusual even for him, filling with dismay those who favored reconciliation.

In June, when Washington was elected commander-in-chief, Sullivan, appointed one of the eight brigadiers, went with him to Cambridge, where his brigade, posted at Winter Hill, with that of Greene, formed Lee's division, the left wing of the army investing Boston. He was twice detailed to the eastward to fortify against British cruisers; was active and zealous in procuring re-enforcements, rendering the war

popular, and harassing the enemy; and won the affection and respect of Washington and his brother officers. His letter from the camp, dated Dec. 12, 1775, on the formation of the constitution of New Hampshire, is replete with wise statesmanship; and the following, to John Adams, proves his zeal and activity in the performance of his military duties:—

CAMP ON WINTER HILL, Dec^r 21, 1775.

DEAR SIR,— Did not the hurry of our affairs prevent, I should often write you respecting the state of our army; but it has been my fortune to be employed almost night and day. When I had Winter Hill nearly completed, I was ordered to Ploughed Hill, where for a long time I was almost day and night in fortifying. Twice have I been ordered to the Eastward, to fortify and defend Piscataway Harbour; but unfortunately was obliged to return without an opportunity of proving the works I had taken so much pains to construct. This being over, I was called upon to raise 2000 Troops from New Hampshire, and bring them on the lines in ten days; this I undertook, and was happy enough to perform; otherwise the desertion of the Connecticut Troops might have proved fatal to us. I might add that 3,000 from your Colony arrived at the same time to supply the defect. This, with the other necessary business in my Department, has so far engaged my time and attention that I hope you will not require an apology for my not writing. I have now many things to write, but must content myself with mentioning a few of them at present, and leave the residue to another opportunity. I will in the first place inform you that we have possession of almost every advantageous post round Boston, from whence we might, with great ease, burn or destroy the town, was it not that we fail in a very *trifling* matter, namely, we have no powder to do it with. However, as we have a sufficiency for our small arms, we are not without hope to become masters of the town. Old Boreas and Jack Frost are now at work building a bridge over all the rivers and bays, which once completed, we take possession of the town, or perish in the attempt. I have the greatest reason to believe I shall be saved, for my faith is very strong. I have liberty to take possession of your house. Mrs. Adams was kind enough to honor me with a visit the other day in company with a number of other ladies and the Rev. Mr. Smith. She gave me power to enter and take possession. There is nothing now wanting but your consent, which I shall wait for till the Bridge is completed; and, unless given before that time, shall make a forcible entry,

and leave you to bring your action. I hope in less than three weeks to write you from Boston.

The prisoners taken in our privateer are sent to England for trial, and so is Col. Allen. This is glorious encouragement for people to engage in our service when their prisoners are treated with so much humanity and respect, and the law of retaliation not put in force against them. I know you have published a declaration of that sort; but I never knew a man to feel the weight of chains and imprisonment by mere declarations on paper; and, believe me, till their barbarous use of our prisoners is retaliated, we shall be miserable. Let me ask if we have anything to hope from the mercy of His Majesty or his Ministers? Have we any encouragement from the people in Great Britain? Could they exert themselves more if we had shaken off the yoke and declared ourselves independent? Why, then, in God's name, is it not done? Whence arises this spirit of moderation? This want of decision? Do the members of your respectable body think that the enemy will throw their shot and shells with more force than at present? Do they think the fate of Charlestown or Falmouth might have been worse, or the King's Proclamation more severe, if we had openly declared war? Could they have treated our prisoners worse if we were in open and avowed rebellion, than they now do?

Why, then, do we call ourselves freemen, and act the part of timid slaves? I don't apply this to you—I know you too well to suspect your firmness and resolution. But let me beg of you to use those talents I know you possess to destroy that spirit of moderation which has almost ruined, and, if not speedily rooted out, will prove the final overthrow of America. That spirit gave them possession of Boston, lost us all our arms and ammunition, and now causes our brothers which have fallen into their hands to be treated like rebels. But enough of this. I feel too sensibly to write more upon this subject. I beg you to make my most respectful compliments to Mr. Hancock and your brother delegates, also to Col. Lee and those worthy brethren who laboured with us in the vineyard, when I had the honor to be with you in the Senate. You may venture to assure them that when an opportunity presents, if I should not have courage enough to fight myself, I shall do all in my power to encourage others.

It is not proposed to present any detailed account of his services at the siege. In the archives of New Hampshire, at Concord, are to be found his letters to the Assembly and Com-

mittee of Safety upon subjects connected therewith. They prove him to have been busily employed in the performance of the duties assigned him. When, at a later period, unjustly censured, as again now, that four thousand men did not defeat thrice their number at Brandywine, he alludes, as will be seen in the sequel, to some of the services he rendered.

After the evacuation of Boston, 17th March, 1776, he took command of the army in Canada, conducting the retreat beginning with the fall of Montgomery at Quebec, and, in this arduous service, displayed skill, prudence, and energy, to the satisfaction of Washington and of Congress. When his command had been extricated from the perils, to which disease and the great superiority of the enemy's forces in Canada had exposed them, Gates was appointed to the northern army. On the 12th of July, 1776, Sullivan took leave of his officers, and they presented him, on the occasion, an address, in which the following passage evinces their sensibility to the dangers they had escaped, and the esteem in which he was held by them: "It is to you, Sir, the public are indebted for the preservation of their property in Canada. It is to you we owe our safety thus far. Your humanity will call forth the silent tear and the grateful ejaculation of the sick. Your universal impartiality will force the applause of the wearied soldier." *

In the early part of August, he was promoted to the rank of Major-General, and joined the main army under Washington, at New York. A British force, over thirty thousand strong, had recently arrived from Halifax; and, on the 22d, General Howe landed fifteen thousand troops on Long Island, increased by the 27th, the day of the battle, to twenty-four thousand, besides which he had, to his great advantage, as they were familiar with the country, a body of Loyalists, under De Lancy. His object was the city of New York, then occupied by the American army. Our success in com-

* The whole of this Address will be found at the end of the volume.

elling the evacuation of Boston, and the recent intelligence of Lee's good fortune in repulsing the British at Charleston, tended to encourage us, though neither in numbers, organization, nor equipments were we at all equal to the enemy. As the possession of the westerly portion of Long Island was indispensable to any effective operations against the city, it was probable that would be the first point of attack. Washington occupied it with about nine thousand men, — as many as he could prudently spare from his main force, — and had caused lines of intrenchment to be constructed for their protection.

Where Long Island approaches nearest to the city, there is a neck of land, about two miles and a half long, and containing about fifteen hundred acres, which is capable, on its eastern front, of being defended by works a mile and a quarter in length. Two miles in front of these lines is a range of hills, — at points two hundred feet in elevation, somewhat irregular in their general course from north to south, intersected by defiles, — through which, here and there, were roads running from the shore to the neighboring villages. As these heights commanded the interior lines about Wallabout Bay, it was necessary, for any effective defence, that they should be occupied. Greene had been in command, and, with Sullivan and Stirling, engaged in fortifying them, when he was taken ill of a fever, and compelled, on the 24th, to leave the island. Sullivan succeeded; but, as there were indications of an impending conflict with the enemy, to Putnam, whose age as well as seniority of commission, it was considered, constituted a claim to the position next in responsibility to that of the commander-in-chief, was confided the direction of our forces on the island.

While, if an effort were to be made to retain possession of New York, it was important to oppose the approach of the enemy at Brooklyn, his landing on the island might be used as a feint merely to lure our forces thither, and, by the aid of his fleet, the city be taken. This compelled the separation of

our army by the straits between the islands, and explains why a force so inadequate was left exposed. .

While the British were concentrating their forces, the heights were occupied by several of our regiments; and skirmishes occasionally occurred. But as the whole line of the hills to be guarded, extending from Yellow Hook, on the Jamaica road, to what is now Greenwood Cemetery, was six miles in length, the force we employed to guard them was wholly inadequate. What force we had, from some oversight of Putnam, who disregarded the injunctions of Washington and the advice of Sullivan, was not wisely distributed. Stirling, as Sullivan says, was to have commanded outside the lines; while to him was assigned the command, under Putnam himself, of the five thousand within. As Putnam had reason to believe the enemy would advance by the shore, on the Gowanus road, at half-past three, on the morning of the 27th, he awoke Stirling in his tent, and sent him to oppose them. Sullivan went out to the heights, in front of Flatbush, where Hurd's, Parsons's, Hand's, and Miles's regiments were stationed,—General Woodhull, with a force of Long Island militia, keeping guard on the extreme left.

When he reached the front, he called for volunteers to ascertain the position of the enemy, but, out of twelve selected for the purpose, not one returned. In the plain at Flatbush, Van Heister kept his attention occupied by his artillery and occasional attacks in line. Meanwhile, Howe, Clinton, Cornwallis, and Percy—who, with the principal portion of the British army, had, the evening before, fallen back to Flatlands, and thence made a circuit of several miles during the night, sawing down the trees that obstructed their march, lest the sound of the axe should betray their design—had interposed themselves between the heights and our interior lines, two or three miles in our rear. By cutting off all our patrols and detachments, they accomplished their object without our knowledge; and when,

at half-past eight, we discovered them, it was too late to escape.

Of our force on the island, in all about nine thousand, probably four thousand, including the fifteen hundred under Stirling, were on the Heights. Sullivan, when he found his earlier anticipation fulfilled, and that his position was surrounded, made a reconnoissance with four hundred men; and, as he was returning, found himself between Van Heister's men, who were pressing up from Flatbush, and Clinton's at Bedford. His small force fought well, in the woods, from half-past nine till twelve, by which time they were killed or scattered, and he himself was taken prisoner.

When candid minds remember, that it was no disgrace to yield to superior numbers, arms, and artillery, it will seem hardly worthy of an American historian to go out of his way to assign imaginary reasons, why this and so many of our Revolutionary battles, where the odds were fourfold against us, resulted as they did. The Americans effected all, and more than all, that could have been expected under the circumstances; but, in the excited state of the public mind, it was human to attach blame to some one, in order to explain defeat. It was much to the honor of Washington, however, that he never condescended to such injustice, or sought to build up his own reputation by creating prejudice against his subordinates. It would be creditable to modern historians, eager to attract attention to their books, if they were equally conscientious, and exhibited more of the fairness and candor that distinguished Judge Marshall, in his earlier and more reliable relation of the events of the Revolution.

Mr. Bisbee, who was with Sullivan in the woods, states that when his men, feeling further resistance useless, dispersed, Sullivan rode toward the enemy, with the expectation of sharing the fate of so many of his soldiers who had received no quarter, intending to sell his life as dearly as possible. As he approached the enemy, several of their men,

instructed in capturing prisoners, contrived to arrest **his** course, render useless his weapons, and lift him from **the** saddle.

Bancroft states (p. 91) that Sullivan's party fired with nervous rapidity. Is it not possible the authority on which this statement is made was that of the British officer, who, in relating what occurred on the afternoon of the day before, says that the force with which he was connected opposite Flatbush, experiencing loss from the American batteries on the heights, quietly withdrew into the woods behind the inequalities of the ground, the shot striking the trees over their heads?

The Americans underrated the force opposed to them,—some six times their number,—or they would have withdrawn earlier within the lines. Howe over-estimated the American force, or he would have proceeded at once to take their lines by assault. The vigorous resistance by Stirling on the right, and the desperation with which the left, on retiring, sold their lives to the Hessians, who gave no quarter, led the British general, who remembered the loss sustained in attacking our lines at Bunker Hill, to make regular approaches. After two rainy days, Washington withdrew his army on the 29th, leaving on the mind of the enemy the impression, that, though we might be defeated, we could not be easily conquered.

Our loss was heavy, but not so great as might have been expected from the vast superiority of the enemy and the mode in which we were surrounded.

Congress and public opinion alike demanded that Howe should be resisted, it being deemed more judicious to sustain a partial defeat than abandon New York without an effort. The Island shore was high, and commanded the city. But the force that could be spared to keep possession was wholly inadequate to guard such an extent of country, or prevent the British, many times their number, from effecting their objects.

The inhabitants were loyalists, many of them in the British camp; pickets and patrols were easily cut off; and twenty-four thousand veterans, under accomplished officers,—such as Howe, Cornwallis, Clinton, Erskine, Grant, Percy, and Van Heister,—could find no great difficulty in environing and defeating four thousand, if these ventured to oppose them. That their resistance was creditable,—Sullivan's was declared by the enemy to have been "gallant and persistent," Stirling's by all admitted to have been brave to the point of heroism,—is proved by the hesitation of Howe to follow up his advantage by assault on the lines at Brooklyn, giving Washington time, while he was making his regular approaches, to withdraw, without further loss, from the Island.

There were reasons enough for the result, without ascribing it to neglect to guard the Bedford road,—which both Washington and Sullivan had repeatedly urged upon the attention of Putnam, and which had in reality been provided for, as well as the means at our disposal admitted, and in part by the force of Woodhull,—or casting reproach upon honorable men, who were risking life on the field and scaffold to maintain the rights and liberties of their countrymen. Sullivan certainly was vigilant, paying for some nights fifty dollars from his own resources, to procure intelligence of the enemy's movements.

Sullivan and Lord Stirling were taken, as prisoners, on board the "Eagle," the flagship of Lord Howe, the British admiral, who courteously received them. He agreed at once to their exchange, Sullivan for General Prescott, who was then at Philadelphia, where Congress was in session. The conversation of the Admiral with his prisoners was frank and friendly, expressing his wish, that such mutual concessions might be made as would adjust the dispute. The previous efforts of himself and his brother, the General, to open negotiations, had been defeated at the threshold, as his instructions forbade his recognition of the Congress; and it was

now proposed, that their desire for a conference should be informally communicated by Sullivan, who was to be released on parole to effect his exchange.

Mr. Bancroft—in his severe denunciation of what was a very simple and natural thing to do, for any one who was a prisoner in a civil war, at a time before any system of exchanges had been effected—loses sight not only of what is just, but what is dignified. It does not matter much to General Sullivan, nor will it much affect his historical position among those who are familiar with the events and characters of the Revolution, what Mr. Bancroft may think of his discretion. The majority of sensible readers will be puzzled to recognize any connection between the terms and the facts, and will conclude, upon the whole, that after a serious defeat, with a victorious army against us of double the strength of any we had to oppose to it, the chance of establishing our independence was not so great as it had been; and that, if we could make peace upon the terms we had always before the war insisted upon,—namely, allegiance to the Crown, chartered rights inviolate, independence of Parliament,—it was worthy of consideration. At all events, we gained time to recover our vigor, discouraging by negotiation the activity of the enemy, and obtaining recognition as belligerents, which, in the event of disaster, might have saved even Washington himself from the scaffold.

That Lord Howe did not divulge any such powers at the subsequent conference with Adams, Franklin, and Rutledge, the Committee of Congress appointed in pursuance of his overture for negotiation, is neither reason nor argument that he did not possess them. As the committee insisted throughout upon independence as the only admissible basis of negotiation, there was no occasion to do so. If the control of Parliament over any adjustment was likely to be paramount, it must be remembered, that Magna Charta and the settlement of 1688 had always been constitutionally regarded as

concessions from the prerogative, that the treaty-making power vested in the Crown, and that, if terms had been concluded under the powers lodged with the Howes by the king and his cabinet, upon the principle that legislation and representation, in all cases whatsoever, should go together, or upon such a system of government as that, at this time, proposed to be carried out in the Canadas, Parliament would probably have assented or acquiesced. It was, therefore, no indiscretion in Sullivan to repose the most implicit confidence in the assurances given him, that adequate powers were possessed by the Howes to effect an accommodation; or inconsistency in them to intimate as much on board the "Eagle," in confidential intercourse, and yet not make their full powers to treat known when the formal conference took place.

As it was simply intended, that Sullivan should communicate, in an informal manner, an *overture* for negotiation through such conference, only to be held if sanctioned by Congress, it was wholly unnecessary that he should have received any written instructions; indeed, instructions were wholly out of the case. He, as one of the acting parties, was receiving himself a proposition (affecting his associates as well as himself, and compromising no one), upon which he merely consented to consult. To deny the propriety of such a course in civil war, would be to close the door to all negotiation; and, if our affairs had been as desperate as they looked at that particular crisis, with thirty thousand men in the field against half that number, in the event of further disaster, it would have subjected all concerned in the rebellion to the mercy of the conquerors upon unconditional surrender.

In the freedom of confidential intercourse with his old associates of the Congress, not probably more than forty in number, General Sullivan stated with entire frankness whatever had occurred on board the vessel, as no doubt it was the wish of Lord Howe, and his manifest duty as an officer appointed under their authority, that he should. When

requested to commit to writing what he understood Lord Howe to propose, he was cautious and guarded, and no exceptions were or could be taken to his words. Subsequently, at the conference, Rutledge, in repeating from recollection, gave a force and color to what Sullivan had said several days before in his oral communication, which Howe claimed was beyond the natural import of his language. Of course, he meant if Sullivan had been correctly reported; but any fair and generous mind, knowing how easily expressions may be misinterpreted or erroneously recalled, would never think of impeaching character or impugning veracity on grounds so unsubstantial.

It should be borne in mind, that recourse was had to this indirect mode of opening communications, always of advantage to belligerents, and especially in civil war, in consequence of the prohibition of the British Government to the Howes to recognize the Congress. General Washington knew what was intended, and did not consider it proper that the military authority should prevent an appeal to the civil power. It would not only have been churlish towards Howe, to decline communicating what was a mere overture for a conference; but it would have been an imprudent oversight to have neglected so valuable an opportunity of ascertaining the extent of the boasted powers of the Commissioners, as well as a reflection upon the ability and wisdom of Congress to decide what their public duty demanded. They concluded to accept the proposition, and improved it to disabuse their constituents of any expectation of satisfactory concessions, thus gaining time needed for re-organization after defeat, and inspiring a more determined spirit to persevere in the contest.

All condemn, now, the want of wisdom of the Confederate leaders in declining, in January, 1865, the terms proposed by Mr. Lincoln. In numerous wars, and especially those of a civil character, peace has been brought about by informal propositions. Humanity demands that no reasonable means

should be neglected to stay the useless effusion of blood. Sullivan had been a respected member of the Congress. Settlement of the difficulty was as much an affair of New Hampshire as of Massachusetts. John Adams, fearing re-action, might have said, that he wished a bullet had passed through the brain of the emissary, as Mr. Bancroft courteously calls him. But this was simply his mode of expressing his extreme unwillingness to enter into any negotiation with the British Government, rather than an indication of an impaired confidence in the integrity or patriotism of that emissary. His relations with Sullivan, then and throughout the war, seem to have been respectful and friendly; and, a few days later, he himself was not unwilling to go with Franklin and Rutledge to confer with Howe on the same business, though as much convinced when he went, as before or afterwards, that no propositions would be made which were based on the independence of the States. Besides, a few years later, he writes that he would gladly exchange all prospects of success in the war for the condition existing before the commencement of hostilities. We think, therefore, that the whole passage in Mr. Bancroft's volume, to which we have referred, betrays an unreasonable prejudice on the part of the writer against General Sullivan.

In October and November, Sullivan was with Washington, in Westchester County; and, after the army crossed the Hudson, he was placed under the orders of Lee. When the latter was taken prisoner, on the 13th of December, Sullivan forthwith obeyed the orders of Washington to join him at Newtown, opposite Trenton; and, having crossed the Delaware at Easton, he effected, on the 20th, a junction with the main army. The same day, Gates arrived with five hundred men,—all that remained of four New-England regiments. Immediate measures were taken for the surprisal of Rahl at Trenton; and on the 25th, at three o'clock, with twenty-four hundred men,—one-half of his whole army,—Washington marched to MacKonkey's ferry, and, by three o'clock in the

morning of the 26th, had crossed the river. It was bitterly cold; and a storm of snow and hail set in as they started for a nine-miles' march to Trenton. Sullivan commanded the right wing, on the river-road; Greene, the left: and both reached Trenton nearly at the same moment,—at eight o'clock. The surprise was complete. Rahl was defeated and mortally wounded; and Washington recrossed the Delaware, with nine hundred prisoners.

When, on the 30th, Washington again crossed the Delaware into Jersey, taking post at Trenton, and found Cornwallis in his front, too strong to attack with any reasonable chance of success, he moved, in the night of the 2d of January, towards Princeton. On his way, several British regiments were encountered, Mercer was killed, Mawhood was repulsed by Washington in person, and the Fortieth and Fifty-fifth were pursued by Sullivan to the College, whence, after slight resistance, they fled to Brunswick, nearly two hundred (194) of them being taken prisoners.

During the next six months, Sullivan was busily engaged in front of the main army, which lay during the winter at Morristown; and at that season, incessantly vigilant, he kept the British at Brunswick and Amboy, many times his number, from marauds.

In a spirit of rivalry in the army,—falling far short of any bitterness of feeling, though not always so in Congress,—the palm of valor was disputed between the South and the North. In a letter of this period (Feb. 13, 1777) to Meshech Weare, President of the Assembly of New Hampshire, he writes, "You may want to know how your men fight. I tell you, exceedingly well, when they have proper officers. I have been much pleased to see a day approaching to try the difference between Yankee cowardice and Southern valor. The day, or rather the days, have arrived. . . . General Washington made no scruple to say, publicly, that the remnant of the Eastern regiments were the strength of his army, though their num-

bers, comparatively speaking, were but small. He calls them in front when the enemy are there ; he sends them to the rear when the enemy threatens that way. All the general officers allow them to be the best of troops. The Southern officers and soldiers allow it in time of danger, but not at all other times. Believe me, Sir, the Yankees took Trenton before the other troops knew any thing of the matter. More than that, there was an engagement ; and, what will surprise you still more, the line that attacked the town consisted of but eight hundred Yankees, and there were sixteen hundred Hessians to oppose them. At Princeton, when the Seventeenth regiment had thrown thirty-five hundred Southern militia into the utmost confusion, a regiment of Yankees restored the day. This General Mifflin confessed to me, though the Philadelphia papers tell us a different story. It seemed to have been quite forgotten, that, while the Seventeenth was engaging these troops, six hundred Yankees had the town to take against the Fortieth and Fifty-fifth regiments, which they did without loss, owing to the manner of attack. But enough of this. I do not wish to reflect, but beg leave to assure you, that newspapers, and even letters, do not always speak the truth."

As the summer advanced, the British general, after various efforts to cross through New Jersey, which were as often disconcerted, embarked twenty thousand men for a destination for several weeks conjectured, but not known. Sullivan lay at Hanover, about twenty miles from Staten Island, whence frequent forays had been made by the enemy on the main. Earlier in the spring, an expedition, sent from New York against Danbury, in Connecticut, had been very destructive ; the banks of the Hudson had been harried ; and frequently New Jersey had been visited by marauding parties, and peaceable citizens plundered or carried off. Ascertaining, that, while sixteen hundred European regulars were at the northerly end of the Island, about eight miles off, near New Brighton,

one thousand loyal militiamen were scattered at different posts along the shore, he arranged with his officers an expedition to capture the latter.

Ogden says the plan was well concerted, and perfectly consistent. The enemy were put to rout, and many prisoners were taken, with little loss. From a mistake of Smallwood, in the night, the regulars became aware of their presence on the island; and, following them to the boats, attacked the rear-guard left to pick up stragglers from the ranks. The guard "sold themselves dear," it is said, and, after vigorous resistance and some loss, about two hundred were compelled to surrender.

Judge Marshall says, "The enterprise was well planned, and, in its commencement, happily executed;" "but the boats were insufficient." The boats that carried the force to the island were certainly capable of bringing them back, and would have done so in safety, had it not been for a laxity of discipline on the part of his subordinates, which Sullivan, by the strictest orders, had done what he could to prevent. Similar enterprises, some attended with the happiest results and consequently familiar, others baffled and forgotten, were constantly occurring; and, if ever likely to prove successful, it was at that very conjuncture, when the British army was at sea.

Sullivan was censured, but the Court of Inquiry and the Congress held him blameless. Other historical writers, swift to defame, have in some instances before, as Mr. Bancroft has now, attributed his want of success to negligence in providing transportation. He no doubt procured all the boats that he could find; and opportunity, in war, would never be improved if no risks were hazarded. We do not claim for General Sullivan any particular merit for the descent on the island. Had it resulted, as might have been reasonably anticipated, in the capture of the thousand loyal militiamen, it would have been considered a very sensible enterprise. Our

general officers were encouraged to activity, and to embrace all similar occasions of inflicting loss on the enemy, by the leading men of the time; and the letter of John Adams to Sullivan, given in his Biography (Works, i. 259), probably made him emulous to do all in his power.

The following letter to Hancock explains, in a measure, the malign spirit with which he had to contend in the discharge of his duty:—

CAMP ON METUCHIN HILLS, Octob. 17th, 1777

DEAR SIR,—I do myself the Honor to enclose Congress a copy of the result of a Court of Inquiry, respecting my conduct on Staten Island, after perusing which and examining the evidence sent by me in a former letter, Congress must be at some loss, to know how it was possible for Lt. Col^o. Smith, and Major Taylor, to write so warmly against me, to their friends in Congress when there was no colour for it. I shall now give Congress the key to it, and it will no longer remain a mystery. On the 13th August, last, when my Division lay at Hanover, these two gentlemen attacked Major Sherburn who acted as Deputy Adjutant-General, on the Public Parade, before all the soldiers, about the severity of the duty, averring that there was no necessity of picquets, or out-guards, as we were in a friend's country and the enemy at such a distance. This was said with heat on the one side, and replied to with as much warmth on the other; I was much surprised at hearing so dangerous a doctrine had been advanced by field officers before the soldiers of my Division. I knew it was an established rule among military men to use the same precautions in a friend's country, as in an enemy's; for a relaxation or neglect of duty has proved the destruction of many armies. The fate of Hannibal after his troops had tasted the delights of Capua, was a striking instance of the evil tendency which follows such neglect. I therefore on the next day, issued orders to my Division, which you have, enclosed. This matter being known throughout the division, it was early perceived against whom they were pointed. This was by them deemed unpardonable, and, I suppose, retaliation determined upon.

But no opportunity offered till the affair of Staten Island. They immediately began to make a party against me, in which they were warmly seconded by General de Borre. This, Sir, was the foundation of all the clamor raised against me; and every engine was set at work

to raise a report throughout the country, that my officers in general were dissatisfied with my conduct. This report coming to the hearing of the officers, they have met on the occasion, and the regiments have many of them delivered in, and the others are making out papers, similar to the one you have, enclosed, from Col. Ford's. I believe some officers in Hazen's will not do it; but many of them have, and some conclude by saying that if they were as happy with the field officers of his regiment as with me, they would be as happy as they could wish. I hope, after having dealt thus openly with Congress, and laid every thing before them, the party who have arisen up against me, will at least be sensible that they have injured me without cause. I am happy that my conduct in military life thus far will bear the strictest scrutiny, and every inquiry into it will redound to my honour. But I am far from expecting this always to be the case. I well know that I am in common with the rest of mankind liable to errors, and it must be a miracle if I escape them all. At the same time, though at a distance from the Senate, I know there is a party who would improve the first [opportunity?] to work my ruin. This was the only motive that induced me to ask to retire from the army. It was not because I was weary of serving my country, but to rescue my reputation from ruin. It is exceedingly hard for me to fight against the enemies of my country, and at the same time combat with the very persons I am fighting for. The last action took off half of my [military] family, perhaps the next may sweep the residue, and involve me in their fate; and, what is still more deplorable, my reputation may unjustly perish by my side. This is a poor encouragement to sacrifice that life which I have often ventured in my Country's cause, and to exchange domestic ease for the dusty field of Mars. But as every American looks up to Congress, for justice, I cannot persuade myself that it will refuse, either to approve my conduct publicly, or grant me leave to retire from the army.

The following is the account of the expedition by Marshall:—

“The force of the enemy on the island amounted to between two or three thousand men, of whom nearly one thousand were Provincials, who were stationed at different places on the coast, opposite the Jersey shore. The British and German troops, amounting to sixteen hundred men, were in a fortified camp, near the Watering Place. General Sullivan thought it practicable to surprise and bring off the

Provincials before they could be supported by the European troops; and he was the more stimulated to make the attempt by their occasional incursions into Jersey. In one of these, very lately made, they had carried off a number of cattle and about twelve individuals noted for their attachment to the American cause. This expedition was undertaken with the select troops of his division, aided by a few Jersey militia, under Colonel Frelinghuysen.

"They had to march about twenty miles to the place of embarkation, where only six boats had been procured. Three of these were allotted to Colonel Ogden, who commanded one detachment intended to attack Colonel Lawrence, who lay near The Old Blazing Star ferry, and Colonels Dungan and Allen, who lay about two miles from each other, towards Amboy. The other three were taken by General De Borre, who was accompanied by Sullivan in person, and who was to attack Colonel Barton, near The New Blazing Star ferry, and having secured that party, to assist Ogden. General Smallwood was to cross at Halsey's Point, and attack Buskirk's regiment, which lay near Decker's Ferry. All the troops crossed over into the island, before day, without being perceived by the enemy. From being misconducted by his guides, Smallwood began his attack on a different point from that which he intended, in consequence of which the regiment he attacked made its escape; but Ogden and DeBorre succeeded in a very considerable extent. Lawrence and Barton were completely surprised; and both of them, with several of their officers and men, were taken.

"The alarm being given, it was necessary to use the utmost dispatch in drawing his forces off the island. It had been impracticable to obtain a sufficient number of boats to embark them all at the same time; and some confusion appears to have prevailed in this part of the business. General Campbell, with a considerable force advanced upon them; and the rear-guard (about two hundred) after defending themselves for some time with great gallantry, finding the boats could not be brought back to take them over the channel, were under the necessity of surrendering prisoners of war. The enterprise seems to have been well planned, and, in its commencement, to have been happily executed. Its disastrous conclusion is most probably attributable to the want of a sufficient number of boats, without which the expedition ought not to have been undertaken." — *Life of Washington*.

The loss inflicted and sustained was nearly equal: probably about two hundred men were rendered ineffective on either

side. Sullivan brought away with him from the island twenty-eight civilians, in retaliation for similar treatment, as above mentioned, towards the friends of independence.

In his account of the expedition, Mr. Bancroft loses sight of the fact, that it was only after his return that he learned of the arrival of the British fleet in the Chesapeake; and that, while waiting for orders, it was his duty to omit no opportunity to harass the enemy.

Mr. Irving, in terms alike more generous and truthful, says that "Sullivan, while encamped at Hanover, in Jersey, made a gallant attempt to surprise and capture a corps of one thousand Provincials, stationed on Staten Island, at a distance from the fortified camp, and opposite the Jersey shore. The attempt was partially successful; a number of the Provincials were captured, but the regulars came to the rescue. Sullivan had not brought sufficient boats to secure a retreat. His rear-guard was captured while waiting for the return of the boats, yet not without a sharp resistance. There was loss on both sides; but the Americans suffered most. Congress directed Washington to appoint a court of inquiry to investigate the matter. In the meantime, Sullivan, whose gallantry remained undoubted, continued in command."

Both Marshall and Irving attribute the want of more complete success to an insufficient number of boats. But the subordinate officers, contrary to the earnest injunctions of Sullivan, had allowed men to straggle from their ranks; and a rear-guard was left to collect them, as well as to protect the embarkation of the rest. Moreover, Ogden had taken possession of a small vessel, upon which were placed his prisoners; and their red uniforms led the boatmen to suppose her an armed vessel of the enemy, and to keep off.

This was a mischance not to be guarded against, and ought not to work to the prejudice of Sullivan. He had taken part in an expedition of a similar character, eight months before, at Trenton, which had redounded to the honor of all who were

engaged, proving of infinite advantage to the cause for which we were contending. It also bore many points of resemblance to his first exploit, the attack on Fort William and Mary, at Portsmouth, in December, 1774, — by many considered as the earliest hostile proceeding against the Crown. Bunker Hill, Dorchester Heights, Trenton, Princeton, Germantown, were similar night movements, suggested by opportunity, and depending on secrecy for success; and, had this been attended with the good fortune reasonably to have been anticipated, it would have redounded as much as Trenton to the credit of our arms.

The Court of Inquiry, composed of Generals Stirling, MacDougall, and Knox, Colonels Spenser and Clark, held Oct. 12, were unanimously of opinion, —

“That the expedition against the enemy on Staten Island was eligible, and promised great advantage to the cause of America;

“That it was well concerted, and the orders for the execution proper; and would have succeeded, with reputation to the general and his troops, had it not in some measure been rendered abortive by accidents, which were out of the power of the general to foresee or prevent;

“That General Sullivan was particularly active in embarking the troops to the island, and took every precaution in his power to bring them off;

“That he made early provision at Elisabethstown for refreshing the troops of his division, when they returned to Jersey; and, upon the maturest consideration of the evidence in the possession of this Court, General Sullivan’s conduct, in planning and executing the expedition, was such, that, in the opinion of this Court, he deserves the approbation of the country, and not its censure.

“The Court, therefore, are unanimously of opinion, that he ought to stand honorably acquitted of any unsoldierlike conduct in the expedition to Staten Island.”

This decision was signed by all the members of the Court; and Congress resolved that the result, so honorable to General Sullivan, was highly pleasing to themselves, and that the opinion of the Court should be published in justification of that injured officer.

Mr. Bancroft says, disingenuously, that Sullivan could not, in consequence of the descent on Staten Island, obey the orders which met him on his return, to join Washington with all speed. In a week, he moved three thousand men from Hanover to the Elk, — one hundred and thirty miles, probably more than less. Howe, with twenty thousand men, had effected his landing by the 26th of August, and on the 11th of September was at Kennett Square, seven miles south of the Brandywine, and thirty south from Philadelphia, of which city it was his aim to possess himself. Washington, on the north side of the river, with his centre at Chad's Ford, on the direct route to the city, had eleven thousand men, poorly armed or recent levies. Maxwell commanded the left, down the river; Sullivan the right, above, having under him, besides his own division, those of Stirling and Stephen, with Hazen's regiment stationed three miles higher up.

Sullivan, in conversation and by letter, had previously expressed his opinion to Washington, that Howe, as a sensible officer, would cross the river above the forks. Knyphausen, with half the British army, early in the morning, marched towards the river, and engaged Washington's attention with his artillery and occasional attacks in force. At the same time, he occupied the right bank of the Brandywine, screening from observation the march of Howe and Cornwallis, who, at daybreak, had started up the Lancaster road. The morning was foggy; and their march, from six to ten miles from the river, lay through thick woods and uneven ground, well guarded on their flanks. Sullivan had but four horsemen, two of whom were needed to keep up communication with headquarters, two miles below, and three-quarters of a mile

from Chad's Ford. It was difficult, therefore, to ascertain the movement of the hostile forces; and Washington remained several hours in suspense.

In a foot-note on page 395 of Mr. Bancroft's volume, Sparks's "Washington" (vol. v. p. 109) is cited to prove that the responsibility devolved exclusively on Sullivan to obtain intelligence; and it purports, that the letter cited corrects a misstatement of his on that point. The candid reader, on reference to that authority, will find that the letter, on the contrary, confirms his statement, and that it was alike the constant effort of both Washington and Sullivan, that anxious morning, to obtain intelligence; and what was actually brought to them was as full and frequent as circumstances could have warranted them to expect.

Towards noon came an express from Sullivan to headquarters, that Howe, with a large body of troops and a park of artillery, was pushing up the Lancaster road. Washington ordered Sullivan to cross the Brandywine at Brenton's Ford, near which he was stationed, and to attack the British left. While preparing, in obedience to these orders, to cross the river, Major Spear* came in and informed him, that he had just come down from the Lancaster road, and the country where the British should have been, if coming round by the upper fords, and that they were nowhere to be seen. Sullivan thought Spear must be mistaken, but felt bound to transmit this with all speed to headquarters, as Washington said, in the sequel, he was perfectly right in doing. The movement might well have been a feint to lure us to meet the whole British army. That Washington so reasoned, is plain from the fact, that he did not send back immediate word, as he might have done in twenty minutes, to cross notwithstanding. One hour at least passed on unimproved by Washington, while awaiting more positive information, when Cheyney came in to confirm the earlier intelligence.

* Most of the authorities write *Spear*; one of the later (Irving) *Spicer*.

It seems reasonable to believe that the information of Colonel Ross and Colonel Bland, that Howe had marched towards the forks; reached Washington soon after eleven. His order to Sullivan to cross was not later than half-past. By twelve, the reports of Major Spear and Sergeant Tucker, that the earlier intelligence was a mistake, were forwarded; and by one, certainly, orders could have been sent to Sullivan still to cross, had Washington deemed it advisable. It was after two when the fact became known to Washington, that the British army was actually coming down the left bank of the Brandywine. Ill-natured historians, eager to find fault, overlook completely the fact, that Colonel Hazen, who with his regiment was stationed three miles above Sullivan, up the river, was the person mainly relied upon for knowledge of any movement of the enemy in that direction.

As the proposed movement was based on information previously communicated, in reality correct, but now contradicted on authority equally entitled to respect, Sullivan would have been deservedly blamed if he had hesitated to transmit it, and the army had crossed to encounter the whole British force, double its numbers, with a river but partially fordable in its rear, and, as inevitably would have been the case unless by a miracle, been defeated.

Reasoning from the facts, as in reality they were, if Sullivan had crossed, and with Washington attacked Knyphausen, the force left at Kennett Square was nearly equal to what would have been engaged against it; and the contest could easily have been prolonged until Howe had reached our rear and enveloped us. It is useless to conjecture probabilities, except so far as they bear upon the claim to credit for prudence and military sagacity of those who no doubt took them into account in forming their conclusions. But it would seem that a kind Providence saved us on that day from a terrible blunder, if not the loss of our cause, by keeping us on the left bank of the Brandywine. We fought because public

opinion demanded it. It would have been a folly, with such odds, to have expected a victory. The resistance made, although resulting in retreat, was still a step in advance towards independence.

What followed we give in Sullivan's own language, in a letter which we claim to be the best evidence as to the facts related, because proceeding from him who had the best opportunity of knowing the truth; whose character for honor cannot be impeached; and where deception, had he been disposed to deceive, would have been impossible, from the whole army of witnesses to whom the incidents of the battle were perfectly familiar. We feel assured that no candid or competent judge, after reading it, will remain of the opinion, either that Sullivan made too wide a circuit, had any question of etiquette with Stirling or Stephen as to the post of honor, moved his division from half a mile to the left to their right, or that he was otherwise than worthy of all respect for his military capacity, and his natural and acquired qualifications as a general officer and commander, in critical moments requiring coolness and judgment. If we had many better officers than Sullivan, the standard in our Revolutionary struggle was a most unusual one.

The letter to which reference has been made is the following:—

CAMP ON PERKIOMY, Sept. 27, 1777.

MUCH ESTEEMED SIR,—I have long been soliciting for a court of inquiry into my conduct in the expedition against Staten Island. I had applied to the commander-in-chief for one before. I know Congress had ordered it; but such has been the state of our arms, that I have not been able to obtain one, and know not when I shall have it in my power. I however take the freedom to transmit Congress copies of the testimonies I mean to lay before the court, which I beg Congress to peruse; and they can be at no loss what must be the result of an impartial court. I am, however, happy in the assurance, that the evidence will remove every suspicion from the minds of the members of Con-

gress, and from the court, if ever I should be so happy as to obtain one ; and I shall take the proper steps to remove the effects from the minds of Americans at large. I was ever at a loss to find what great evil happened from this expedition, unless a spirit of enterprise is deemed a fault ; if so, *I think it will need but few resolves of Congress to destroy what remains of it in our army.*

In this expedition, we landed on an island possessed by the enemy ; put to rout six regiments ; killed, wounded, and made prisoners at least four or five hundred of the enemy ; * vanquished every party that collected against us ; destroyed them great quantities of stores ; took one vessel and destroyed six ; took a considerable number of arms, blankets, many cattle, horses, &c. ; marched victorious through the island ; and, in the whole course of the day, lost not more than one hundred and fifty men, most of which were lost by the imprudence of themselves and officers. Some few, indeed, were lost by cross accidents, which no human foresight could have prevented.

Whether Congress will take any steps against persons who have thus scandalously imposed their falsehoods upon them, I shall not inquire. I find it necessary for me to take the proper steps to do myself justice, which I know the impartial part of mankind will justify. I was still more astonished to find, that, upon the vague report of a single person, who pretends to know all about the late battle of Brandywine, though I am confident he saw but little of it, Congress should suddenly pass a resolve, to suspend me from the service, which resolve was afterwards rescinded. If the reputation of general officers is thus to be sported with, upon every vague and idle report, those who set less by their reputation than myself must continue in the service. Nothing can be more mortifying to a man who is conscious of having done every thing in his power for the good of his country, — has wasted his strength, and often exposed his life, in the service of it, than to

* There is no more frequent subject of dispute in history than regarding the number of combatants, the dead, wounded, or missing. Returns are rarely exact ; and, except in rare instances, where system is unusually thorough, much is left to conjecture. It was a part of even Washington's policy, full of truth and honor as he was, to mislead the enemy ; and the British officers frequently under or over-stated, either from design or mistake. If this number seems large, it is quite as likely to be exact as what was stated by the enemy disposed to conceal the extent of their loss, or of persons, from malevolent motives, eager to depreciate the results. Of course in this number are included the prisoners of Ogden, who, if we may judge from his own correspondence, was not in an independent command, as stated by Bancroft, but formed part of that of General Sullivan.

find the representatives thereof, instead of bestowing on him the reward of his services, loading him with blame, infamy, and reproach, upon the false representations of a single person, who felt as little of the severity of the engagement, as he knows about the disposition of our troops or that of the enemy.

I enclose Congress the testimony of those brave and experienced officers, who with me endured the hottest of the enemy's fire.

I have never endeavored to establish my reputation by my own pen; nor have I, according to the modern custom, employed others for the purpose; neither have I adopted the still more infamous method, of raising my own reputation by destroying that of others. I have always contented myself with a consciousness of having done my duty with faithfulness; but, being constrained to say something at this time respecting the late battle and some other matters, I hope Congress will look upon it rather as the effect of necessity, than any desire of making a merit of my services.

I never yet have pretended that my disposition in the late battle was perfect; I knew it was very far from it: but this I will venture to affirm, that it was the best which time would allow me to make. At half-past two, I received orders to march with my division, — to join with, and take command of, that and two others to oppose the enemy, who were coming down on the right flank of our army. I neither knew where the enemy were, nor what route the other two divisions were to take, and of course could not determine where I should form a junction with them. I began my march in a few minutes after I received my orders, and had not marched a mile when I met Colonel Hazen and his regiment, which had been stationed at a ford three miles above me, who informed that the enemy were close upon his heels, and that I might depend that the principal part of the British army were there; although I knew the report sent to headquarters made them but two brigades. As I knew Colonel Hazen to be an old officer and a good judge of numbers, I gave credence to his report, in preference to the intelligence before received. While I was conversing with Colonel Hazen, and our troops still upon the march, the enemy headed us in the road, about forty rods from our advanced guard. I then found it necessary to turn off to the right to form, and so got nearer to the other two divisions, which I at that moment discovered drawn up on an eminence, both in the rear and to the right of the place I then was at. I ordered Colonel Hazen's regiment to pass a hollow way, file off to the right, and face, to cover the artillery. The enemy, seeing this, did not

press on, but gave me time to form my division on an advantageous height, in a line with the other divisions, but almost half a mile to the left.

I then rode on to consult the other general officers, who, upon receiving information that the enemy were endeavoring to outflank us on the right, were unanimously of opinion, that my division should be brought on to join the others, and that the whole should incline further to the right, to prevent our being outflanked; but while my division was marching on, and before it was possible for them to form to advantage, the enemy pressed on with rapidity and attacked them, which threw them into some kind of confusion. I had taken post myself in the centre, with the artillery, and ordered it to play briskly to stop the progress of the enemy, and to give the broken troops time to rally and form in the rear of where I was with the artillery. I sent off four aide-de-camps for this purpose, and went myself; but all in vain. No sooner did I form one party, but that which I had before formed ran off, and even at times when I, though on horseback and in front of them, apprehended no danger. I then left them to be rallied by their own officers and my aide-de-camps; I repaired to the hill where our artillery was, which by this time began to feel the effects of the enemy's fire.

This hill commanded both the right and left of our line, and, if carried by the enemy, I knew would instantly bring on a total rout, and make a retreat very difficult. I therefore determined to hold it as long as possible, to give Lord Stirling's and General Stephen's divisions, which yet stood firm, as much assistance from the artillery as possible, and to give Colonel Hazen's, Dayton's, and Ogden's regiments, which still stood firm on our left, the same advantage, and to cover the broken troops of my division, and to give them an opportunity to rally, and come to our assistance, which some of them did, and others could not by their officers be brought to do any thing but fly. The enemy soon began to bend their principal force against the hill, and the fire was close and heavy for a long time, and soon became general. Lord Stirling and General Conway, with their aide-de-camps, were with me on the hill, and exerted themselves beyond description to keep up the troops. Five times did the enemy drive our troops from the hill, and as often was it regained, and the summit often disputed almost muzzle to muzzle. How far I had a hand in this, and whether I endured the hottest of the enemy's fire, I cheerfully submit to the gentlemen who were with me. The general fire of the line lasted an hour and forty minutes; fifty-one minutes of which the hill was disputed almost muz-

zle to muzzle, in such a manner, that General Conway, who has seen much service, says he never saw so close and severe a fire. On the right where General Stephen was, it was long and severe, and on the left considerable. When we found the right and left oppressed by numbers and giving way on all quarters, we were obliged to abandon the hill we had so long contended for, but not till we had almost covered the ground between that and Birmingham meeting-house, with the dead bodies of the enemy.* When I found that victory was on the side of the enemy, I thought it my duty to prevent, as much as possible, the injurious consequences of a defeat; for which purpose I rallied my troops on every advantageous piece of ground, to retard their pursuit and give them fresh opposition. How far I exerted myself in this, Congress will readily see by consulting the enclosed testimonies; and that the last parties I assisted to rally and post against them were between sunset and dark. By this means the enemy were so much fatigued, that they suffered our whole army, with their artillery, baggage, &c., to pass off without molestation, and without attempting to pursue us a step.

I wish Congress to consider the many disadvantages I labored under on that day. It is necessary, in every action, that the commanding officer should have a perfect knowledge of the number and situation of the enemy, the route they are pursuing, the ground he is to draw up his troops on, as well as that where the enemy are formed, and that he have sufficient time to view and examine the position of the enemy, and to draw up his troops in such a manner as to counteract their design; all of which were wanting. We had intelligence only of two brigades coming against us, when in fact it was the whole strength of the British army, commanded by General Howe and Lord Cornwallis. They met us unexpectedly, and in order of battle, and attacked us before we had time to form, and upon ground we had never before seen. Under those disadvantages, and against those unequal numbers, we maintained our ground an hour and forty minutes; and, by giving fresh opposition on every ground that would admit, we kept them at bay from three o'clock until after sunset. What more would have been expected from between three and four thousand troops against the chief part of the British army?

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* Rolls of the loss of the enemy at Brandywine were captured at Germantown, and the total is set down as about two thousand. More than half of their loss, no doubt, was during the battle at Birmingham meeting-house.

I now beg Congress to consider whether my services, in political and military life, have deserved so ill as to render me liable, upon vague reports and private opinions, to have my character stigmatized by resolves against me. Though I have never yet wrote, or said any thing in favor of myself, I am compelled at once to alter my conduct. My political character is well known in most parts of America, and the part I have taken in the present dispute. I am exceeding happy, that, in the military line, I have witnesses of all my conduct. Let the commander-in-chief declare who it was that supplied cannon, arms, and ammunition to the army, when they were almost destitute at Cambridge, and who brought the troops to guard the lines, when they were almost deserted; and who, by his influence, prevailed upon them to tarry six weeks after their time was expired. To the officers I had the honor to command on Winter Hill, I appeal whether I was not the means of inducing their men to enlist for the second campaign, and whether, during the whole time I was there, I did not cheerfully brave every danger that could arise from the severe cannonade and bombardment of the enemy. To the officers of the Canada army, let me appeal for the truth of my having found, on my arrival in that quarter, a most miserable army, flying off by hundreds and leaving behind them all their sick, and all the public stores which had been sent into that quarter. Those I speedily collected, and, having joined my other forces, made an effort to penetrate into the country; but the unfortunate arrival of ten thousand British troops put it out of my power. I had then to make a retreat with five thousand sick, and two thousand two hundred and fifty well men, and to secure the public stores scattered throughout the country. This was done in the face of a veteran army, commanded by a brave and experienced officer. The sick and the public stores were not only saved, but the mills, timber, and boards were destroyed, which prevented the enemy from reducing Ticonderoga to the same unhappy situation the last year which they have done this. How far I was active in conducting this retreat, which even our enemies have applauded, let the address of the worthy officers in that army, presented at my departure from them, declare. In the attack upon Trenton, in December last, I appeal to all the officers in the three brigades commanded by Generals St. Clair, Glover, and Commandant Sergeant, whether I did not enter the town, at the head of my troops, and whether my disposition was not the most perfect that could be devised for carrying the town and preventing escapes, and whether, with my division, I did not carry the town before we received any assist-

ance. To the commander-in-chief, and to the same officers, I again appeal, whether I did not by my influence prevail on those troops to tarry six weeks after the first day of January, which in my opinion went far towards saving America;* and whether, at the attack on Princeton, I was not in the front of my line when the enemy began their fire upon us, and whether they ever saw me in the least endeavor to screen myself from the enemy's fire. For the battle of Long Island, I appeal to Major Willis and the other officers who were with me, whether any person could have exposed himself more, or made a longer resistance with such an handful of men, against so great an army.

It is an observation of one of the wisest of men, that no person can stand before envy; and I am determined not to make the rash attempt. My reputation and my freedom I hold dear. But, if I lose the former, the latter becomes of no importance. I therefore, rather than run the venture to combat against the envy of some malicious officers in the army, when cherished and supported by the influence of their too credulous correspondents in Congress, must, as soon as the court of inquiry have sat, and given their opinion, beg leave to retire from the army, while my reputation is secure. This will afford me an opportunity of doing justice to my reputation, and laying my conduct, with the evidence of it, before the public; and enable me to take the proper steps against those, who, without cause or foundation, have endeavored to ruin one, who has ever shown himself one of the warmest friends to American freedom. I beg Congress will not suppose this to proceed from disaffection, but from necessity; that I may quit a place where I have more to fear, than I could have from the most powerful enemy. If Congress grants me liberty to retire, I shall give in my resignation to the commander-in-chief, when the court of inquiry have sat, and given their judgment, and if it is against me, when a court-martial gives a final judgment, unless that should likewise be against me. But I cannot think that Congress, after examining the evidences, will be at a loss to know what the result of either court must be.

Dear Sir, I have the honor to be, with much respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

His Excellency JOHN HANCOCK, Esq.

* It was undoubtedly owing, in a great degree, to the exertions of Sullivan and Stark, that a re-enlistment of the troops was effected at this perilous juncture. — See *Collections for 1822*, p. 100.

Stephen exposed himself, that day, to reproach for unofficer-like conduct. De Borre, somewhat ignorant of our language, was obstinate, disobeyed orders, and, shortly afterwarwards, was court-martialled and resigned.

Sullivan, in defending himself from the charges of Burke, — a civilian and member of Congress, who rode out to see the fight, — criminales no one of his subordinates, but is generous to all of them, as he is, afterwards, just and discriminating in describing the battle for the public press. It seems difficult to understand, if any remark ever fell from his lips to which the wildest interpretation could attach the idea of jealousy or etiquette as to position, how any such could have entered his mind. He was commanding the whole right wing, and both Sterling and Stephen were his subordinates; while De Borre commanded the right brigade in his own division. How could it possibly have added to his dignity or responsibility or consequence, that his division should have been posted on the right. His words seem unmistakable, that, in moving to the right and rear, they were closing up to Stephen, when De Borre's brigade broke.

To be held in any degree, however, unjustly responsible for the disasters of the day, was intolerable to one so sensitive as himself; and the following letter to Mr. John Adams expresses his distress under the imputation: —

TO JOHN ADAMS.

CAMP ON PERKIOINT, Sept. 23, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — Far from addressing you in the language of friendship, and desiring your assistance as a friend, I call upon you as a friend to justice and mankind, begging you to acquaint yourself, and make Congress acquainted, with the evidence I have enclosed the President, relative to my conduct. They ought to take time to view, examine, and consider it. They have censured and condemned me without evidence; will they not acquit me upon the clearest testimony? The greatest and the only favor I request from you is, that if, by the evidence, there appears the least fault in my conduct, you will join with the rest against me, to complete that ruin which some members of Congress have long been

striving to bring about; but if, on the contrary, you find that it is the person who has silently borne the burthen of the war, has endured the hottest of almost every fire, and braved every danger for his country's good, that Congress has been censuring and resolving against, then, Sir, call upon Congress to do me justice, and restore me that reputation which they have in some degree deprived me of. Should I fail in this, I am determined to quit the service, and employ my tongue, my pen, and every other engine that may be found necessary, to save my reputation. I am now fortifying myself for the purpose. I am well known in America, and exceeding well in the army. The officers who have served with me are worthy, as they are numerous. They will, they must, join with me to exclaim against unjust and ungenerous returns for faithful and laborious service, let them proceed from what quarter they will. No wall can be so sacred as to screen from public censure the persons who, from private views, would ruin the reputation of the faithful patriot and the brave soldier. It is the dignity of America, not the dignity of Congress, we are fighting to support. Treat us justly, reward us for our services, and don't let our characters suffer from every idle report. Pray examine the evidence I have sent to the President, and then determine, with your usual candor, whether the resolves against me were not premature; whether I have not a right to complain; and whether Congress ought not, in justice, to restore me that reputation which they have deprived me of. Why am I singled out as the only person for a court of inquiry, and by a resolve, afterwards rescinded, to be suspended from the service. A fleet was lost on Champlain Lake, the army in Canada ruined, Fort Washington and Fort Lee sacrificed: no courts of inquiry were thought necessary. General Parsons made an attempt on Long Island the same day I went to Staten Island. He had only one regiment to contend with; no reinforcements could possibly come against him: yet he was repulsed, with loss. I had many regiments to contend with; routed all I came across; did them much mischief. Yet no court of inquiry is ordered upon him. I am the butt against which all the darts are levelled. How does this read? How will it sound when ringing in the public ear? But forgive me for this warmth. I know that, as a friend, you will make the proper allowances for my feeling. I rely upon your exertions to bring Congress to do justice to your much injured friend and humble servant,

JN^o SULLIVAN.

Hon. JNO ADAMS, Esq^r.

Congress, who had for a moment hearkened to Burke, one of its members, who professed to have been an eye-witness of what occurred on the battlefield, immediately rescinded their resolve by an overwhelming vote, one member from Delaware alone siding with Burke. His aspersions, as we hope those of Mr. Bancroft now, if fame be worth the having, will be of service rather than injury to the reputation of General Sullivan, calling attention to what can well stand the test. We select from the numberless letters of his brother officers, including nearly all those who served under him, the following, which are certainly better to be believed than Mr. Bancroft.

Oct. 20, 1777.

Since the battle of Brandywine, I have been sorry to hear illiberal complaints thrown out against the conduct of Major-General Sullivan. As I was present during the whole action, and obliged, from my situation with Lord Stirling, to be near General Sullivan, I had an opportunity of observing such examples of courage as could not escape the attention of any one. I can declare that his uniform bravery, coolness, and intrepidity, both in the heat of battle, and in rallying and forming the troops when broke from their ranks, appeared to me to be truly consistent with, or rather exceeded, any idea I had ever had of the greatest soldier.

ENOS EDWARDS,

Aide to Lord Stirling.

The notes of Lafayette, Hamilton, and Laurens are equally explicit as to his generalship in the battle; and the following from Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, afterwards candidate for the Presidency of the United States, that, in posting Weedon's brigade, and in resisting the enemy till dark, he did quite his part in the preservation of the American army:—

CAMP NEAR POTSGROVE, Sept. 24, 1777.

In compliance with the request of General Sullivan, that I would mention what I saw of his behavior at the action of Brandywine, on the 11th of this month, I declare, when I saw him in the engagement, which was in the evening, about the time that General Weedon's brigade was brought up to the right, he appeared to me to

behave with the greatest calmness and bravery; and at that time I had occasion to observe his behavior, as I was then with General Washington, and heard General Sullivan tell him that all the superior officers of his division had behaved exceedingly well, and, after some other conversation with the general, General Sullivan, turning to me, requested I would ride up to General Weedon, and desire him to halt Colonel Spottswood's and Colonel Stephen's regiments in the ploughed field, on our right, and form them there, which I did; and on my return I was informed that General Sullivan, while I was delivering his orders, had his horse shot under him.

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY,
Colonel of the First Continental Regiment of South Carolina.

Five days after the battle, Washington again sought an engagement at Goshen; but, a storm of two days' continuance spoiling his ammunition, he was compelled to withdraw for a fresh supply, and Howe entered Philadelphia. There being no suitable accommodation within the city, the British general posted his forces at Germantown, about six miles out. Washington determining to assail them on the first opportunity, submitted the proposition to his generals, who, with few exceptions, advised delay until they had been strengthened by re-enforcements expected shortly from the North. When, soon after, intelligence was received that Howe had weakened his army by a strong detachment to Billingsport, Washington concluded upon action. At noon, on the third of October, he issued his orders; and, at nine that evening, the troops left Matuchen Hills, on the Skippack, for a night march of fourteen miles. At baybreak the next morning, the right wing, commanded by Sullivan, came into collision with the advanced posts of the British at Chestnut Hill, about two miles north of the village of Germantown.

The following letter to President Weare from Sullivan, dated Oct. 25, 1777, from the camp at Whitemarsh, gives the particulars of the fight:—

General Sullivan's Letter to the President of New Hampshire.

CAMP AT WHITEMARSH, Oct. 25, 1777.

SIR, — I hope the constant movements of our army, since the battle of Germantown, will apologize for my not having before given you a particular account of this unsuccessful affair. Upon receiving intelligence that part of the enemy's force was detached for particular purposes, and that their main army lay encamped, with their left wing on the west side of the road leading through Germantown, flanked by the Hessian forces, who were encamped on the Schuylkill, and their right on the east side of the road extending to a wood about one mile from the town, with their light infantry encamped in a line in their front, within less than a quarter of a mile of their picket at Mount Airy, — upon this intelligence, it was agreed in council that we should march the night of the 3d instant, and attack the enemy in the following manner: —

My own and Wayne's divisions were to compose the right wing, which I had the honor to command. This wing was to be sustained by the corps of reserve, composed of Nash's and Maxwell's brigades, commanded by Major-general Lord Stirling. The right wing was to be flanked by Conway's brigade, which led the column. The whole of these marched down the Skippack road, leading over Chesnut Hill into Germantown. General Armstrong, with about one thousand Pennsylvania militia, was to pass down the road which runs near the Schuylkill, and attack the Hessians, who covered the enemy's left flank. The left wing was composed of Greene's and Stephen's divisions, commanded by Major-general Greene, who were to march down the York road and attack the enemy's right, while the troops I had the honor to command attacked their left. General McDougal's brigade was to attack their right flank, and Smallwood's division and Forman's brigade of militia were to make a larger circuit, and attack the rear of their right wing. The reason of our sending so many troops to attack their right was because it was supposed, that, if this wing of the enemy could be forced, their army must be pushed into the Schuylkill or be compelled to surrender. Therefore two-thirds of the army, at least, were detached to oppose the enemy's right.

The attack was to begin on all quarters at daybreak. Our army left their encampment at Matuchen Hills at nine in the evening, marched all night, and at daybreak the right wing arrived on Chesnut Hill, when one regiment from Conway's brigade, and one from the

Second Maryland brigade, were detached to Mount Airy, followed by Conway's brigade, to attack the enemy's picket at Allen's house. My own division followed in the rear of Conway's, and Wayne's division in the rear of mine. The picket was soon attacked, and suddenly re-enforced by all their light infantry. This compelled General Conway to form his brigade to sustain the attacking regiments and to repulse the light infantry. They maintained their ground with great resolution, till my division was formed to support them. The enemy endeavoring to flank us on the left, I ordered Colonel Ford's regiment to the other side of the road to repulse them, till General Wayne's division arrived; and upon finding that our left wing, which had near four miles farther to march than the right, had not arrived, I was obliged to form General Wayne's division on the east of the road, to attack the enemy's right. I then directed General Conway to draw off such part of his brigade as was formed in the road and in front of our right, and to fall into my rear, and file off to the right to flank my division; but, the morning being too dark to discover the enemy's movements, and no evidence being given of General Armstrong's arrival, I was obliged to send a regiment from Wayne's, and another from my own division, to keep the enemy from turning our right. I also detached Colonel Moylan's regiment of light horse to watch their motions in that quarter.

This being done, my division were ordered to advance; which they did with such resolution, that the enemy's light infantry were soon compelled to leave the field, and with it their encampments. They, however, made a stand at every fence, wall, and ditch they passed, which were numerous. We were compelled to remove every fence as we passed, which delayed us much in the pursuit. We were soon after met by the left wing of the British army, when a severe conflict ensued; but, our men being ordered to march up with shouldered arms, they obeyed without hesitation, and the enemy retired. I then detached my aide-de-camp, Major Morris, to inform his Excellency, who was in the main road, that the enemy's left wing had given way, and to desire him to order General Wayne to advance against their right. His Excellency immediately detached part of the residue on my right and part on the left of the road, and directed Wayne's division to advance, which they did with great bravery and rapidity.

At Chew's house, a mile and a half from where the attack began, Wayne's division came abreast with mine, and passed Chew's house, while mine were advancing on the other side of the main road.

Though the enemy were routed, yet they took advantage of every yard, house, and hedge in their retreat, which caused an incessant fire through the whole pursuit. At this time, which was near an hour and a quarter after the attack began, General Stephen's division fell in with Wayne's on our left, and, soon after, the firing from General Greene's was heard still farther to the left. The left wing of our army was delayed much by General Greene's being obliged to counter-march one of his divisions before he could begin the attack, as he found the enemy were in a situation very different from what we had been before told. The enemy had thrown a large body of troops into Chew's house, which caused Maxwell's brigade to halt there with some artillery to reduce them. This was found very difficult, as the house, being stone, was almost impenetrable by cannon, and sufficient proof against musketry. The enemy defended themselves with great bravery, and annoyed our troops much by their fire. This, unfortunately, caused many of our troops to halt, and brought back General Wayne's division, who had advanced far beyond the house, as they were apprehensive lest the firing proceeded from the enemy's having defeated my division on the right. This totally uncovered the left flank of my division, which was still advancing against the enemy's left. The firing of General Greene's division was very heavy for more than a quarter of an hour, but then decreased, and seemed to draw farther from us. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the facts to determine with precision what was done in that quarter. A regiment commanded by Colonel Matthews advanced with rapidity near the town; but, not being supported by some other regiments, who were stopped by a breastwork near Lucan's mills, the brave colonel, after having performed great feats of bravery, and being dangerously wounded in several places, was obliged, with about a hundred of his men, to surrender.

My division, with a regiment of North Carolinians commanded by Colonel Armstrong, and assisted by part of Conway's brigade, having driven the enemy a mile and a half below Chew's house, and finding themselves unsupported by any other troops, their cartridges all expended, the force of the enemy on the right collecting to the left to oppose them, being alarmed by the firing at Chew's house so far in their rear, and by the cry of a light-horseman on the right, that the enemy had got round us, and at the same time discovering some troops flying on our right, retired with as much precipitation as they had before advanced, against every effort of their officers to rally them. When

the retreat took place, they had been engaged near three hours, which, with the march of the preceding night, rendered them almost unfit for fighting or retreating. We, however, made a safe retreat, though not a regular one; we brought off all our cannon and all our wounded. Our loss in the action amounts to less than seven hundred, mostly wounded. We lost some valuable officers, among whom were the brave General Nash and my two aides-de-camp, Majors Sherburne and White, whose singular bravery must ever do honor to their memories. Our army rendezvoused at Pawling's mills, and seems very desirous of another action. The misfortunes of this day were principally owing to a thick fog, which, being rendered still more so by the smoke of the cannon and musketry, prevented our troops from discovering the motions of the enemy or acting in concert with each other. I cannot help observing, that, with great concern, I saw our brave commander exposing himself to the hottest fire of the enemy, in such a manner, that regard to my country obliged me to ride to him, and beg him to retire. He, to gratify me and some others, withdrew a small distance; but his anxiety for the fate of the day soon brought him up again, where he remained till our troops had retreated.

I am, &c.,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

To the Hon. the President of New Hampshire.

The battle, which lasted three hours, was, where Sullivan commanded on the right wing, a complete success. It was already decided in their favor; a portion of the enemy had actually crossed the river in retreat; when a panic, from several causes, took possession first of Wayne's men, and then others of the right wing, baffling every effort of their officers to rally them. Washington had been persuaded by Knox to reduce the stone house of Chief Justice Chew, occupied by Colonel Marsgrave and six companies of the British Fortieth; and a parley was sounded, summoning them to surrender. This was mistaken for a signal to retreat; a fog, dense with the smoke of the battle, prevented perfect concert of action; and a regiment, led by an inexperienced colonel, exhausted, unseasonably, its powder. These causes occasioned confusion; but the retreat was effected with little loss. The enterprise was well planned and executed, and

inflicted a heavy blow on the enemy, raising in public estimation the character of our troops,—so soon after defeat, in condition to encounter their enemies.

Washington, in his report to Congress, says, "In justice to General Sullivan and the whole right wing of the army, whose conduct I had an opportunity of observing, as they acted immediately under my eye, I have the pleasure to inform you, that both officers and men behaved with a degree of gallantry that did them the highest honor." Mr. Bancroft, with the same ungenerous prejudice exhibited earlier, ascribes no merit to Sullivan, but cites a letter of General Armstrong to sustain a statement as to his needless waste of powder, which the letter itself fails to confirm.

After other unsuccessful efforts to bring the enemy to a conflict, in December, 1777, the American army—a large portion of it barefooted and without blankets—went into winter-quarters at Valley Forge, where Sullivan remained, busily engaged in superintending the construction of bridges and in other duties, till March, 1778, when he was ordered to take the command in Rhode Island.

Mr. Bancroft charges him, as a fault, with recommending the appointment of Conway as adjutant-general, and with being on both sides in the cabal which aimed to displace Washington by Gates. Conway had been under his command; was a brave officer who had seen much service; and, among the Sullivan papers is a virtual denial, under his signature, of ever having written to Gates the offensive passage quoted by Bancroft, which gave displeasure. Sullivan's own correspondence conclusively proves that he had never faltered in his loyalty to Washington; but it would have been highly prejudicial to the cause for which they were all contending, had he taken sides against Gates, who was then the President of the Board of War.*

* Letter to Adams, and following declaration of Conway:—

I declare that at Whitemarsh Camp, I think one or two days before my departure, I met with

In February he requested permission to visit his home, while the army remained inactive in winter-quarters; and states that his daily pay of fifteen shillings and eightpence, in the reduced currency, provided for a very inconsiderable part of his expenses. He had depended, throughout the war, on his private resources; and his available means had become exhausted. At Long Island, New York, New Rochelle, and Peekskill, his personal effects had been captured; and it was only by returning to New Hampshire that he could procure what was indispensable for his most pressing wants.

When the French alliance, following Burgoyne's surrender, led to co-operation, a combined attack by the French fleet under D'Estaing, and an army under Sullivan, was concerted against Newport, then defended by six thousand men.

Sullivan, by collecting the militia and volunteers from the neighboring States, had, for a short time, under his command, a force of ten thousand men, only fifteen hundred of whom had had any experience in war. As they approached, the British withdrew from the upper part of the island, within their lines, three miles from the town; and Sullivan crossed on to the island. It had been arranged that the French should land first, in the expectation their landing would be contested. When the British withdrew, this precedence ceased to have any significance; Sullivan improving time, which was important, and opportunity, which might have been lost had the enemy returned to dispute the landing, crossed; and D'Estaing was, without reason, offended.

A gale of unusual severity, of three days' duration, drove

General Wilkinson at Colonel Biddle's quarters; that, having called General Wilkinson to an upper room, I asked him if he had knowledge I had written to General Gates the preceding month. Upon his answer in the affirmative, I asked him if he remembered to have read in it the following paragraph:—

"Heaven has determined to save this country, or a weak general and bad counsellors would have ruined it."

General Wilkinson assured me that such a paragraph was not in my letter.

3d JANUARY, 1778.

THOMAS CONWAY.

off the fleet of the allies, who, after a partial engagement with the British squadron under Lord Howe, sailed to Boston to refit.* Several thousands of the volunteers, disheartened by this seeming defection, and by exposure to cold and wet and hardships to which they were wholly unaccustomed, went home. Sullivan, with the remainder, proceeded to attack Newport; but the garrison—who, in comfortable quarters, had not suffered from the gale, and were protected by strong intrenchments—equalled in numbers his own troops, and had, besides, a powerful naval force to protect them; while D'Estaing declined to return. Upon consultation, and after taking the written opinions of his general officers, advising his withdrawal from the island, he retired to Butt's Hill in good order, thence repulsing the British, who had followed; and, on the following night, recrossed to Tiverton, without molestation or loss. The next day, Clinton arrived from New York with a re-enforcement to the garrison of four thousand strong.

If disappointed, the failure of his expedition was from no fault of Sullivan. In the estimation of the unreflecting, who possess no other criterion of merit than success, he may be censured for not effecting impossibilities. Washington himself, judged by the same standard, came near falling a victim to unreasonable prejudice.

Greene, always the steadfast friend of both Washington and Sullivan, on the 11th of September, 1778, wrote, "I have seen as much service almost as any man in the American army, and have been in as many, if not more, engagements than any one. I know the character of all our general offi-

* When, after the storm and naval engagement, the French Admiral declined to return, Sullivan, in general orders, to counteract discouragement in his army from this disappointment, expressed his confidence that they would effect their object without co-operation; but not a word was used from which any sensible person, however susceptible, could have taken umbrage. Apprehension that the expressions used might prejudice the cause, led to subsequent explanations; but no man of common sense can find fault with them now that they are divested of all power to harm.

cers; and, if I am any judge, the expedition has been prudently and well conducted. I am confident there is not a general officer, from the commander-in-chief to the youngest in the field, who could have gone greater lengths to have given success to the expedition than General Sullivan. He is sensible, active, ambitious, brave, and persevering in his temper; and the object was sufficiently important to make him despise every difficulty opposed to his success, as far as he was at liberty to consult his reputation: but the public good is of more importance than personal glory, and the one is not to be gratified at the expense of the other." On the 17th of September, Congress resolved that the retreat was prudent, timely, and well conducted; and that their thanks be given to General Sullivan, and to the officers and troops under his command, for their fortitude and bravery displayed in the action of Aug. 29th, in which they repulsed the British forces, and maintained the field.

In 1779, Sullivan commanded an expedition against the Six Nations, whose massacres and depredations at Wyoming, Cherry Valley, and along the frontier settlements, called for repression and reprisals. In carrying out his orders, which Mr. Sparks has only partially printed, he laid waste forty of their villages. The ulterior object was the invasion of Canada by the way of Niagara, and Sullivan requested from the Board of War the supplies he deemed necessary to accomplish it; but, secrecy being essential to success, they were not forthcoming, and what was provided was nearly exhausted while they still remained in the Indian country.*

* It was remarked by a cotemporary writer, that "the instructions given by General Sullivan to his officers, the order of march he prescribed to his troops, and the discipline he had the ability to maintain, would have done honor to the most experienced ancient or modern generals." This is cited as an offset to the slur of Mr. Bancroft, who certainly is no better judge of military character: indeed, his descriptions of military movements indicate a want of attention to a science indispensable to the historian. The instructions, still extant, of Sullivan, to officers acting under him in the command of expeditions, are minute and sensible, and fully prove the injustice of the

Gordon, who seems to be the favorite authority of Bancroft, exhibits, throughout his work, a carping spirit against nearly all the officers, and a prejudice against Sullivan, easily explained, which ought not, in any candid mind, to operate to his discredit. The book was published in England for a public prejudiced against America. Moreover, in the controversy in Massachusetts for the removal of Temple, he had been the opponent of James Sullivan, the brother of the General.

His health broken down by incessant exposures and hardships, General Sullivan sent in his resignation to Congress, who voted him their thanks for his services.

He had borne the brunt of the war for five years. He had endeavored zealously to do his duty. His courage, fidelity, activity, had never been questioned. His success had equalled that of Washington or Greene, — either of whom, judged by their battles gained, would not have any brighter record to show than himself. Monmouth was more a drawn battle than a victory, and its dispositions were out of the control of the commander-in-chief. By his celerity of movement, and his judicious combinations, Washington, aided by the French, having "bottled" up Cornwallis in the peninsula, conquered at Yorktown; and this, as Saratoga, was a decisive battle. But neither Lee at Fort Moultrie, Gates at Saratoga, nor Washington at Yorktown, won more substantial laurels than the latter general in his defeats at Brandywine and Germantown.

Sullivan's generalship, as that of most other military leaders, has been subjected to criticism; but, if judged without prejudice, and by the circumstances and standards of the times, it will not suffer by comparison with that of the other leaders. He certainly made as great sacrifices as any of them.

harsh and unfounded judgment passed upon him by a civilian, confirm the favorable opinion entertained of his military aptitudes and qualifications by Washington, Greene, and those who had the best opportunity of knowing them.

He expended his private fortune. Fourteen hundred dollars, advanced by him for the public service in 1776, was only repaid in 1784; and his pay, in depreciated currency, fell far short of the unavoidable expenses of a general officer. Greene, the noblest of the generals, if we except Washington, was always his firm friend; and he also stood high in the estimation of the commander-in-chief. If he made enemies by his freedom of expression and impulsive temper, these secured him the affectionate respect of those whose respect was best worth having. Gates and St. Clair and Parsons strove to lessen his influence. Traces of their jealousy or dislike may be found in the correspondence and newspapers of the period, and used by the ill-natured to discredit him; but if sifted, and allowance made for the motives that prompted them, they will be found entitled to no weight.

In taking leave of Washington as his military commander, he alludes as follows to the combination that had long perseveringly endeavored to ruin and supplant them both. He says, "Permit me to inform your Excellency, that the faction raised against you in 1777, into which General Conway was unfortunately and imprudently drawn, is not yet destroyed. The members are waiting to collect strength, and seize some favorable moment to appear in force. I speak not from conjecture, but from certain knowledge. Their plan is to take every method of proving the danger arising from a commander who enjoys the full and unlimited confidence of his army, and alarm the people with the prospect of imaginary evils; nay, they will endeavor to convert your virtues into arrows, with which they will seek to wound you."

Washington, on the 15th of December, 1779, wrote in reply:—

MY DEAR SIR,—I had the pleasure of receiving, a few days since, by Captain Barin, your letter of the 1st instant. I assure you I am sensibly touched by so striking an instance of your friendship, at a time and in a

manner that demonstrates its sincerity, and confirms the opinion I have always entertained of your sentiments towards me. I wish you to believe, that your uneasiness on the score you mention had never the least foundation. A slender acquaintance with the world must convince every man, that deeds, not words, are the true criterion of the attachment of his friends; and that the most liberal professions of goodwill are far from being the surest marks of it. I should be happy if my own experience had afforded fewer examples of the little dependence to be placed upon them. I am particularly indebted to you for the interesting information you give me of the views of a certain party. Against intriguing of this kind, incident to every man in a public station, his best support will be a faithful discharge of his duty, and he must rely on the justice of his country for the event.

It is unnecessary for me to repeat to you how high a place you hold in my esteem. The confidence you have experienced, and the manner in which you have been employed on several important occasions, testify the value I set upon your military qualifications, and the regret I must feel that circumstances have deprived the army of your services.

In 1780, he was again a member of the Congress; and in committee, on the Vermont grants, the Pennsylvania mutiny, finance, and other subjects, he was zealous and useful. On his return home, he was created Attorney-general of New Hampshire,—an office held by himself and his gifted son and grandson for nearly half a century.

He took part in the labors of the Convention of 1783, which formed the constitution of his State; and he was thrice elected its chief magistrate. By his energy, he suppressed the insurrection of 1786; and as President of the Convention, by his influence and eloquent arguments, he induced the ratification, by that State,—which, as the ninth, secured its adoption,—of the Federal Constitution. He had the pleasure, as Governor, of extending to President Washington the hospitalities of New Hampshire; and, appointed by him its Federal Judge, he died in 1795, in that office.

In the discharge of his executive duties, he was indefatigable in promoting every interest of the State, organizing its

militia, and encouraging, by example as well as by persuasion, its manufacturing and agricultural industry. His writings, clear, vigorous, and sensible, exhibit a thorough knowledge of political science; and, collected, would prove a valuable accession to the literature of the period. His manners were easy and dignified, his address engaging and his disposition exceedingly amiable. He was a warm friend, generous and hospitable; and his character and public services would seem to entitle his memory to respect and honor.

These have not been accorded to him by the writer from whose judgment we appeal. It is for the public, now and hereafter, to decide if that judgment be correct. It is our duty, who cherish his memory,—descendants, kindred, friends of free institutions, the State he so long and faithfully served, the American people,—to take heed that every fact, circumstance, motive, be considered before he is unjustly condemned.

The specifications are: First, Want of discretion in submitting to Congress propositions of reconciliation from Lord Howe. Second, An injudicious descent on Staten Island, Aug. 21, 1777. Third, Transmitting intelligence to Washington which was subsequently found to be incorrect; disobedience of orders; and marching his troops to the right of Stirling, at Brandywine, Sept. 11, 1777. Fourth, Wasting powder at Germantown, Oct. 4, 1777. Fifth, Recommending Conway as inspector-general. Sixth, Keeping on terms of courtesy with Gates.

I. That General Sullivan should have gladly embraced the proposal of Howe, to go to Philadelphia, where he could best effect his exchange for Prescott, was far from being an indiscretion. It certainly would have been the height of indiscretion to have refused to communicate Howe's friendly dispositions, in such form as he inclined to make them,—not certainly again in writing, as they had already been so re-

ceived; and it was for Congress to determine what notice to take of them.

After such a defeat as that of Long Island, to gain time by negotiation, to recover strength for more effectual resistance, was the part of prudence; and prejudice must travel far to find, in the course pursued by Sullivan, any ground for censure.

II. Marshall says, the descent on Staten Island was well planned and conducted, although boats enough were not secured to warrant the attempt. Gordon shows there were boats enough; but the persons in charge were frightened off from the landing, by seeing the eighty prisoners captured by Ogden, in their red uniforms, on a vessel he had seized.

Smallwood was to have placed a regiment at the Crossroads, to have intercepted, at the Neck, fugitives from the Provincial regiments routed by Ogden, while on their way to give the alarm to the regulars; but, as Marshall tells us, he was misconducted by his guides. Accidents are apt to attend such attacks by night, and should not be attributed, *as faults*, to any one.

Ogden says, if Congress had not been imposed upon by misrepresentation, no court of inquiry would have been ordered, and its decree exonerated Sullivan from all reproach: if the public are not imposed upon by misrepresentations, they will also confirm the decree. Bancroft, while censuring, takes no notice of the reasons why the expedition proved less successful than anticipated. As to any consequent delay in joining Washington, this is absurd. The British fleet was reported in the Chesapeake on the 21st, and Sullivan had returned from the island on the 22d.

III. The transmission, at Brandywine, of the intelligence of Major Spear, Washington said was the duty of Sullivan.

As to disobedience of orders, had Washington seen fit to persist in his plan, orders to cross the Brandywine would have reached Sullivan in fifteen minutes; yet from one to

two hours elapsed before Cornwallis was heard of, on the left bank.

As to marching too far to the left, instead of going to the right of Lord Stirling, any person familiar with the localities and relative position of the armies,—any tyro in military science,—knows, that, instead of marching too far to the left, he was actually marching *from the left*; that, when headed off by the British, he was not far enough to the right to connect with the divisions of Stephen and Stirling; and there is no evidence his division ever endeavored to march to their right.

Muhlenberg (p. 92), which has often been quoted, goes to show that *De Borre* raised some question as to his position on the right, but not *Sullivan*; and neither *De Chastelleux* nor any other authority, certainly not any that are cited, sustains the statement, that “*Sullivan* undertook to march his division from half a mile beyond the left, to his proper place on the right.”

Sullivan's own letter is full and extremely clear as to what he did. It is the best evidence; and the natural impression left by it on any mind unprejudiced is, that we were fortunate in possessing generals as efficient as himself, in our Revolutionary armies. It certainly is unnecessary to disparage them,—to find a reason why twelve thousand British veterans triumphed, after nearly two hours' hard fighting, over four thousand American continentals and militiamen.

IV. As to powder wasted at Germantown, this is stated by Bancroft as a reflection on *Sullivan*. The only ground on which he makes the statement is, that an inexperienced colonel in his wing of the army, in the obscurity of the morning, did not check his men when firing oftener than was worth while, as it chanced. This is matter of opinion. It was not certainly the fault of *Sullivan*, who had no means of knowing, in the darkness, what any particular regiment had in its front.

The loss of the battle is generally ascribed to the loss of time at the Chew House, from Washington preferring the advice of Knox, not to leave a castle in his rear, to that of Pulaski, who cited the case of an Italian army returning from victory to capture a similar post. Washington no more than Sullivan was infallible: both were liable to mistake; both in their day were, and have been since, bitterly censured. John Adams said Washington was no general; but this does not lessen our own faith that he was first as well in war as in peace, and in the hearts of his countrymen; nor should the views of a writer aiming rather at flippancy than conscientious exactness, be entertained to the prejudice of Sullivan.

V. No one who studies the career of Conway, and realizes how sensitively he must have felt the low estimate Washington formed of his military qualifications, as communicated to Congress, can be surprised at his favoring Gates, whose army at Saratoga had achieved the great success of the war, rather than Washington, who, with the exception of Trenton and Princeton, had met only with disaster. Sullivan had had occasion to think well of him; and Congress, by giving the appointment, appear to have agreed with him.

VI. As to Sullivan siding with Gates to supplant Washington, as Bancroft would convey by an innuendo, this is sufficiently disproved by other correspondence, as well as the last letter quoted.*

This brief narrative of his career has appeared to us the best mode of refuting these charges. An extended biography, embracing documents at length, would require time for preparation. But abundant evidence has been adduced to satisfy intelligent minds, that they are without foundation, either in fact or reasonable inference. It also compels the

* Washington's letter to Sullivan, dated Dec. 15, 1779, here referred to, may be seen on page 175, *ante*.

conviction, that the writer, in making such unscrupulous statements on the testimony, betrays a prejudice and want of fidelity to historic truth, that proves him to be far less qualified for his task as an historian of the Revolution, than he would have us believe some of its most honored generals were for the command of its armies.

The character and conduct of all historical personages are fair subjects for scrutiny. Neither the descendants nor the friends of General Sullivan can desire he should be exempt from that ordeal which whoever engages in public affairs accepts. They have no reason to apprehend, that a thorough study of his life and correspondence, of his civil and military career, will otherwise than redound to his glory and honor.

Descendants may well be incensed when a writer, swayed by temper, prejudice, or caprice, is unfaithful to the authorities he quotes, in order to create an unfavorable opinion of their progenitor. No one can compare the text of the book to which we take exceptions, with the best evidence left of the facts which the author professes to relate, without being astonished at the unscrupulous disregard for truth which its author displays when he would gain credit to himself, or circulation for his volumes, by discrediting others.

From early manhood, for thirty years, Sullivan was constantly in the public service. He shared the friendship and esteem of Washington, Greene, Jefferson, the Lees, and the best men of his day. He was repeatedly elevated by his own State to the highest places of trust and confidence. During the war, whenever censured from temporary misapprehension, he was invariably applauded when the truth was ascertained. He risked life, lost health, sacrificed a considerable portion of his fortune, in establishing the liberty of his country. He considered neither hardships nor privations of any consequence, in her service. If he had little experience of military movements, this was true also of Washington, and of nearly all our Revolutionary commanders.

He ever acted under a deep sense of responsibility to promote the cause for which, if unsuccessful, in common with other more conspicuous personages, he was likely to be selected for the pains and penalties of treason. It does seem a sorry requital for public services of such a nature, to be at the mercy of every unscrupulous writer who chooses to defame.

Lights and shades may add to the interest of a narrative; but character, and the susceptibilities of descendants, are too sacred to be sported with for the entertainment or instruction of readers. What wealth or personal endowment, what social distinction or laurels, literary or political, are more precious to possess than the privilege of having sprung from such a character as General Greene, or from Washington, had he left posterity? Not for any vainglory or consequence in the sight of other men, but from a natural pride implanted in every generous bosom. Honorable public service, self-sacrifice for national objects, transmit to those that come after a share in their rewards, and shed a lustre on succeeding generations. Under monarchical forms, this, carried to excess, might foster hereditary exclusiveness, or build up a privileged class; but there is no such tendency under free institutions. There is little danger anywhere, that the grand qualities and noble traits which history delights to honor can be too highly estimated, too much extolled or respected, either in their original brightness or their reflected splendors.

It seems difficult to credit the sincerity of one who wantonly wounds the sensitiveness of whole families, in order to create for himself the reputation of candor, or seeks his own advantage at such a cost. Heath, Putnam, Wayne, Schuyler, Greene, certainly had done enough good service in the cause of American independence to save their memories from sacrilegious sneers, or reflections on their sense or courage. Reed had committed no act, expressed no opinion, that could warrant a charge little short of treachery. If untiring and

steadfast devotion to the noblest cause ever contended for; if sacrifice of home, health, and fortune must only expose those who come after, and whose happiness by the sacred relations of nature is as dear as one's own, to harsh epithets and cruel aspersions,—there probably will be still the same noble self-immolation on national altars: but what a discouragement, what a sorry requital!

Success is a low criterion of merit or character. To struggle with adversity, to contend against odds, to be persevering notwithstanding discouragement, to have one's good evil spoken of, to be maligned and misrepresented, and yet preserve an amiable temper, an imperturbable spirit, a steadfast determination in the discharge of duty, characterized Washington, Sullivan, and many other of the patriots. Their difficulties, disappointments, or reverses afford more valuable lessons for example and emulation, and far better deserve our respect, than glory or triumph. The times that tried men's souls on the banks of the Delaware in 1776, and at Valley Forge in the winter of 1778, are more worthy of admiration than Saratoga, Monmouth, or Yorktown. He is neither generous nor patriotic who describes our great heroic epoch in a spirit of detraction or cynicism. Nor is it truth or honor to stigmatize or applaud for the sake of lights or shades which may attract or amuse. A writer of history has no peculiar privilege to dishonor the dead, nor can he with impunity wound the sensibilities of the living.

But we are led to ask who is the man who so boldly judges; and whether, should his memory survive his contemporaries, he is willing to have the same measure meted to him that he has thus cruelly and unjustly accorded to some of the noblest characters of the Revolution. We trust, if his ruling motive be other than the love of truth, that his misrepresentations will work no permanent prejudice to their fame, either as generals or statesmen.

It is unfortunate for the cause of truth, that a writer,

whose works circulate where no vindication can follow them, should make such unworthy use of his position, in a measure beyond the reach of responsibility, to tarnish reputations which are amongst the most precious heir-looms of the American people. Our generals may not have been accomplished officers, they had few opportunities of learning the profession of arms, they made occasional mistakes; so did Cæsar and Wellington: but they patiently sacrificed fortune, health, life, in the cause of our national independence; and it seems a sacrilege, in these degenerate days, to pass harsh judgment upon their services, or deprive them of their well-earned laurels.

JANUARY MEETING.—1867.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, January 10th, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the American Antiquarian Society; the Royal University of Norway; the Trustees of Oberlin College; the Editors of the "Advocate"; the Proprietors of the Savannah "Daily Republican"; John Appleton, M.D.; Rev. Richard B. Duane; George W. Greene, Esq.; Albert D. Hager, Esq.; Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq.; George H. Moore, Esq.; Joel Munsell, Esq.; Messrs. Newman and Scovill; M. C. Richardson, Esq.; David T. Valentine, Esq.; Hon. Henry Wilson; and from Messrs. E. Ames, Bemis,

W. G. Brooks, Chandler, Deane, Ellis, Green, C. Robbins, Saltonstall (sixty-seven volumes), and Winthrop, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary read letters of acceptance from General John Meredith Read, jun., of Albany; and from Mr. Henry G. Denny, of Dorchester.

A letter from C. C. Haven, Esq., of Trenton, N.J., was read, asking the Society's acceptance of a bound pamphlet of seventy-two pages, entitled "Thirty Days in New Jersey, ninety years ago," written by himself, for which due acknowledgments were voted.

The President called the attention of members to a number of volumes (sixty-seven in all) lying upon the table, — a gift from our associate, Mr. Saltonstall, of books which formerly belonged to the library of his father, the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Saltonstall for this valuable gift to the library.

The President communicated, from Count Adolphe de Circourt, of Paris, a pamphlet of forty-six pages, — containing an article, written by the latter for the "Revue Britannique," on "Les Origines de la République des Etats-Unis," — being a review of the "Life and Letters of John Winthrop," vol. i., 1864, by Robert C. Winthrop; and "The History of New England," by John Winthrop, edited by James Savage, 1853.

The President presented to the Society an old manuscript quarto volume, in the handwriting of President Dunster, of Harvard College, and formerly the property of Dr. Belknap. It was presented to Mr. Winthrop by Miss Elizabeth Belknap, 26th February, 1858. The

volume contains many papers of historical interest, one of which, relating to the "Christian experience" of the elder Governor Winthrop, the President had published in the "Life and Letters of John Winthrop," in 1864. The volume was referred to the Publishing Committee.

The President said, that he had received a communication from our distinguished Honorary Member, Mr. GEORGE PEABODY, which he was sure would be listened to with high gratification, and with deep gratitude, by every member present. He then proceeded to read the following letter:—

Boston, January 1, 1867.

To the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP,
President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have for some time desired to gratify a wish which I once expressed to you; and, while I should at the same time mark my strong personal esteem and regard for yourself, and my appreciation of the past labors and researches of the venerable and distinguished Society of which you are President, to contribute, in some degree, to extend its future usefulness, and preserve its valued memorials.

With these objects in view, therefore, I beg to present, through you, to the Massachusetts Historical Society, the sum of twenty thousand dollars, in the five per cent. $\frac{1}{8}$ coupon bonds of the United States, bearing accrued interest from the first of September last; which bonds, or their proceeds, shall be held by them as a permanent trust-fund, of which the income shall be appropriated to the publication and illustration of their Proceedings and Memoirs, and to the preservation of their Historical Portraits.

I will thank you to do me the favor to communicate this to the Society at their next meeting, to be held on the 10th inst.

I am, with great respect, your humble servant,

GEORGE PEABODY.

Dr. ELLIS then offered the following Resolutions:—

Resolved, That the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society have listened with profound gratification to the reading, by their

President, of the letter of Mr. GEORGE PEABODY accompanying his gift to the Society of TWENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS; and that it is with the sincerest gratitude to the munificent donor, that we thus find ourselves sharers in the comprehensive generosity which has been exercised in England and in the United States, with such varied, discriminating, and admirable adaptation to so many noble interests of humanity, science, and liberal culture.

Resolved, That we recognize this noble gift as especially opportune in time and occasion; and as peculiarly adapted, in the purposes which its donor assigns for it, to what have recently been felt to be the most pressing wants of the Society. We therefore hereby pledge ourselves, and would bind our successors, to a faithful keeping and improvement of the fund, to be called, henceforward, "The Peabody Fund," of which we are thus put in possession; having regard alike to the conditions so intelligently set forth by Mr. Peabody, and to the importance of the special objects he has aimed to serve.

Resolved, That our best appreciation of this gift, and the most fitting return which we can make to its donor, will be in our finding in it, individually and as a Society, a new and continued incentive to industry, earnestness, and fidelity in pursuing the investigations and labors for which we are here associated.

Resolved, That the President be requested to communicate to Mr. Peabody a copy of these resolutions; and to assure him that his gift is gratefully received, and shall be faithfully used.

Dr. ELLIS then spoke as follows:—

While we are content to repeat much the same familiar words and forms of speech, in asking for favors, we often wish that we had new and fresh terms for acknowledging them. We should be glad to have a more ample range, and a fuller variety of expressions of recognition and gratitude. We feel that we might then adapt our acknowledgments of obligation for a favor received to the special occasion, to the opportuneness, and to the present and prospective value of the benefit conferred, and thus avoid the generalities and commonplaces of thankful acknowledgment.

So at least I felt, Mr. President, when, at your request, I set myself to draw up the formal resolutions of gratitude to

our new benefactor, that should at the same time convey a personal tribute which we might hope would be acceptable to him, and express our high estimate of the opportuneness and value of his gift. There is something about the personality and the individuality of that honored and munificent man, something in the nature and method of his wide liberality, something in the concise forms and in the dignified simplicity of the writings which accompany his trust-funds, defining their conditions and uses,—there is something in the style in which he thus confers great favors, which would naturally prompt the recipients of them to make a careful choice of their words of thankfulness and appreciation. For, if of any one benefactor of his own and of coming generations a wide notoriety for the multiplicity and variety and amount of his gifts might prompt a reiteration of the same epithets and praises, it will be difficult for writers in newspapers, and drawers-up of resolutions, to vary their eulogiums of him who now stands before the world as the example of a more than princely munificence, distributed in his native and in his adopted country to the most wisely chosen and the best discriminated objects. We can well imagine that all fulsome and extravagant terms would fail to find in him the weak spot of vanity or susceptibility, while still his modesty is conjoined with so true a discernment, and so practical a good sense, that he will not be indifferent to the fitness of the responses made to him by those whom he favors. He will expect to be assured of their purposes of fidelity in holding and using the trust-funds which he commits to them. Indeed, it has seemed to me, that the more ambitious of our rising young business men who are eager for great acquisitions, may find Mr. Peabody betraying to them, in some sort, the secret of the method of his vast gathering of wealth in the method of his distribution of it. Those accumulations of his, we know, with whatever felicities of good fortune he had to help him, must have engaged the patient, steady, and persistent exer-

cise of an inquisitive and discreet mind, given to practical dealing with the complicated affairs of business. He devotes much careful thought and scrutiny to informing himself about the enterprises and institutions to be benefited by his generosity. Putting himself into relations of confidence with their official representatives, he learns their actual purposes and wants. The impulse or the aid, which he gives to any object that commends itself to him, is accompanied, in its announcement or direction, by some sagacious counsel, readily inferred if not distinctly expressed. I suppose, Mr. President, though you have been silent on the point, that we are at liberty to imagine some friendly offices of your own in behalf of the Society, through your confidential relations with Mr. Peabody. He has certainly become well acquainted with our wants, and has met them when and where we have most sensibly felt them.

How valuable to us is his gift, how adapted to our special objects, and how timely it is, most of us know very well; but some of us who have labor in hand for the Society, arrested in its progress by the state of our treasury, have occasion, as our circumstances were till to-day, to regard this special benefaction as carrying us happily over a critical moment.

This is the third occasion, during the last dozen years, on which the Society, at its monthly meetings here, has found a grateful variety, even in the most agreeable routine of its business, in listening to the announcement of great favors conferred upon it. In December, 1854, the Treasurer read to us a communication from the Trustees acting under the will of the late honored and exemplary Samuel Appleton, one of Boston's foremost merchants, conveying to us the sum of ten thousand dollars, in trust, for a specified purpose, — "the procuring, preservation, preparation, and publication of historical papers." The volumes of our Collections, since published, bear upon their titlepages the best token of the value of that gift.

At a special meeting of the Society, August 5th, 1856, we had our first intimation of the intentions of the late Mr. Thomas Dowse, of Cambridge, to make us the inheritors of that most precious portion of the wealth he was about to leave behind him,—his costly and unique library. At our annual meeting, April 9th, 1857, after transacting our formal business in the outer rooms, with a quickened expectation of what was to follow, we were ushered, with due ceremonial, into this elegant apartment, thenceforward to be known as the Dowse Library, renewing our gratitude and pleasure as we enter it and sit in it each month of every year. Here we found what we now behold; and were informed that the expenses of transporting the rich contents of the shelves and the cases themselves, and all the furnishings and adornments of the room, were a gratuity to us from the estate of that remarkable man, who felt such pride and joy in gathering, arraying, and reading these books. Nor was even this all. It was announced to us, that his executors, in the exercise of the discretion to which he had committed a residuum of his estate, had even endowed an endowment, by giving to us a fund of ten thousand dollars for its support. Who of us that was present on that delightful occasion will not always associate with the memory of it the modest utterance, and the calmly controlled but full satisfaction, of our late beloved associate,—an example for our emulation in so many graces and virtues,—Mr. George Livermore, to whose relation with Mr. Dowse we are indebted, if not for the prompting, at least for the encouragement of the purpose which resulted in such gain to us.

Still, up to this very day, we were straitened and embarrassed by a lean treasury, and by the lack of such investments and resources as we could look to, year by year, for any thing more than our necessary economical expenses. In the midst of our luxuries, our wants were of the homeliest sort. So the word "opportune" applies, with the utmost appropriate-

ness, to the gift of gold-bearing bonds which Mr. Peabody has already transferred from his banker to the keeping of our Treasurer. The Standing Committee were literally at a stand; and have been so, in a position which is exceedingly uncomfortable when long held, with some of their best intentions arrested for want of money. The materials for a large part of another volume of our "Proceedings," with incidental matters of interest, have been ready for the press for several months; while the enhanced cost of printing has aggravated our deficiency of means. The memoir of our late senior member, the venerable Mr. Quincy, from the pen of Dr. Walker, which has been in our hands nearly a year, and from which we expect so rare and full a pleasure, considering its subject and its writer, has necessarily remained in manuscript. Our Vice-President, Colonel Aspinwall, as Chairman of the Committee for the publication of the next volume of Collections, has ready, as I know from examining them, valuable materials of his own gathering in England, which he has himself annotated. The materials of yet another volume are waiting the opportunities of another Committee. I may add, too, that my own diligence and zeal in discharging the attractive but exacting duty laid upon me by the Society, of editing and illustrating its Proceedings from the beginning, its *origines*, have been somewhat qualified by the thought, that, if I made haste to do my work, it would have to remain long in manuscript. It may be, also, that some of the younger, as well as of the elder, members are postponing their projects or labors in our service, because of the accumulations which we have not been able to put into print.

The fund of which Mr. Peabody has put us in possession is devoted by him to the publication of our Proceedings, and the preservation of our Historical Portraits. These are the two objects which have furnished the matter for lamentation, in the Annual Reports of the Standing Committee, for several years last past. The fund is adequate to its designed uses.

We have in our entrance-room, and in the room above us, many portraits of unquestioned authenticity, and of great and curious interest. They were committed to us as willing and competent guardians, through whose judicious and careful oversight they might pass down into the years of the future with an enhanced value. Now we are better furnished for that guardianship. We pledge ourselves, by the adoption of the Resolutions, sacredly to respect the wishes and conditions expressed by our new benefactor. By doing so, we and our successors shall have much benefit. I therefore respectfully lay before the Society the Resolutions which I have read.

Colonel ASPINWALL then said: —

Mr. PRESIDENT, — I am greatly flattered by the honor you have conferred on me, in desiring me to second the Resolutions, which express our grateful sense of the gift bestowed upon this Society by my old friend, George Peabody.

It is another specimen of the noble uses to which he applies the accumulations of his intelligence and industry; and, in its conditions, furnishes a fresh proof of the sound discrimination and judgment which accompany and guide all the impulses of his benevolence.

In England, where the utterly destitute, the pauper, is substantially provided for at the public expense, Mr. Peabody saw that there was another class, more needing aid than the pauper, struggling for a livelihood, whose hardships would be lessened, and health, hope, and comfort increased, if they could only find homes, moderate in rent, affording facilities for household labor, and supplied with the ordinary means of securing cleanliness and health.

We all know, that he carried out his plan of benefiting and improving this deserving class by a great and munificent donation, which insured him the gratitude of multitudes, who felt the rich blessing he had bestowed on them, and the warm-hearted applause and thanks of the Queen and the nation.

But in this country he saw another state of things. The poor are comparatively few, and their wants are generally met and relieved by our public institutions; while all who are disposed to exert themselves are ordinarily sure of a comfortable subsistence.

Here; then, he turned the current of his bounty in a different direction. He patronized institutions for the improvement of science and the diffusion of knowledge; he established lyceums and libraries, where all could resort, either to hear or to study; and created or aided historical societies, where the history of the past would be investigated, and its documents and archives collected and preserved.

In all this, he has never forgotten the places where he lived in youth or manhood; but in each has left such a valuable memorial of his attachment and his interest in its lasting welfare, as will be gratefully remembered and enjoyed, long after he has finished his mortal career.

It seems as if it were the design of Providence, that he should be raised up as a guide and example to others who, like him, are in circumstances of affluence. We may see that some have already felt the incentive and stimulus to similar efforts and contributions for the good of the present and future generations.

It ought not to be forgotten how little of all his wealth is used for himself. No man leads a less luxurious life. He has no splendid mansion, no retinue of servants, no magnificent carriage or horses, and, whenever it is practicable, not even an attendant beyond the general domestics of the house or hotel in which he may happen to be.

It has been remarked, that Mr. Peabody gives not much in private charity. But I well know, that in days gone by he never withheld his hand or purse whenever a well-authenticated case of distress was brought before him. But in later times the throng of applicants has constantly been so great, that their almost countless letters could not even be read;

and no fortune, however great, would suffice for their craving demands.

The venerable JAMES SAVAGE then rose, and expressed his great pleasure at being able to be present at this meeting. He said:—

I had intended, Mr. President, to second the Resolutions offered by Dr. Ellis; but my friend Colonel Aspinwall has now performed that pleasant duty. I am much pleased with the Resolutions, as they so well express my own sentiments relative to this noble and timely gift, and I hope these proceedings will all go upon our records. I have not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with our benefactor, Mr. Peabody; but his judicious acts of benevolence have given him a world-wide fame. I can remember the early history of the Society; its day of "small things," when their books were few, and they had not room even for them; when the whole property of the Society was not worth as much as the cost of the glass cabinet in the next room; and I cannot help forcibly contrasting that period with its present condition of prosperity. This new addition to its funds should offer a new incentive to action.

Mr. FROTHINGHAM, the Treasurer, then spoke as follows:—

Mr. PRESIDENT,—It is with a gratification which I want words fittingly to express, that I welcome the addition, to the resources of the Society, of what is hereafter to be known as the "Peabody Fund." Viewed in connection with the former means of the Society, this endowment is princely in its character. It is, however, but an item in a system of comprehensive munificence, most wisely devised to yield the fruitage of public benefit, which, as it is developed, excites admiration and gratitude at home and abroad.

The way in which the donor has seen fit to bestow this trust on the Society cannot but be gratifying to the members. The letter accompanying it not only refers, in complimentary terms, to the past labors of the Society, but connects the gift with expressions of personal esteem and friendship for our respected President, to whom grateful acknowledgments are due for his successful efforts in promoting its interests, and for eminent service in the cause of historical inquiry.

According to the letter of the donor, the income of this fund is to be appropriated to the publication of the "Proceedings" of the Society, and to the preservation of its Historical Portraits. This will enable the Committee who have the volumes of Proceedings in charge to print copious selections from the material constantly added to our archives, and communications on such subjects as may engage the special attention of the members; and it will allow the entire income of the prior publication fund, the Appleton Fund, to be devoted to the printing of the series of the "Collections" of the Society. This increase of means ought to prove an incentive to fresh labor in behalf of the objects of this institution. Our venerable ex-President (the Hon. James Savage) has referred to the past of the Society, — to its days of small means; and yet, even with such limited resources, the results of well-directed zeal and industry, are the series of volumes of "Collections," stored with materials illustrating American history, which no student in this field of inquiry can afford to neglect. Happy will it be if the fruits of the labors of the members in this day of prosperity shall be judged to be as worthy of the means that are placed at their command.

Reference has been made to the fields that are open to reward historical inquiry. There is the great work of tracing the origin and progress of the ideas and forces that constitute the strength of the Republic, and which enabled it to take to-day the attitude in which it stands before the nations. The donor, during the recent civil war, was in a position, living

in the great commercial centre of London, to note the value of these influences; and he had faith in their power of endurance. A commercial friend, on returning during this period from a European tour, remarked that the only large banking-house in London he could find, that had confidence in the ability of the United States to maintain its credit, was the house of Mr. Peabody. None can doubt that a great element of national strength is the historic influence. This endowment, others of a similar character, and especially the noble trust in connection with Harvard University, may be regarded as a substantial testimonial, from one of the most intelligent merchants of the age, of the value of historical pursuits.

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Esq., then said:—

It would not be expected of me, Mr. President, after what has been so justly said concerning Mr. Peabody's generous donation to this Society, to make any further remarks, were it not that I hold an official position as Chairman of the Standing Committee.

It may not be known to many of our members, that the Society has been of late much embarrassed by the want of funds sufficient to enable it to proceed with its usual publications. The subject has greatly absorbed the attention of the Standing Committee; and various plans have been projected for relieving its wants, all of which have encountered obstacles proving fatal to their success. It is at such an opportune moment that this large-hearted man has conferred upon the Society so noble a benefaction, that I hardly know how to sufficiently express my thankfulness to him. When viewed in comparison with other donations made by Mr. Peabody, twenty thousand dollars seems a trifling sum; but I believe that in no instance have the recipients of his so freely bestowed wealth been more ready to declare the gift to be ample.

It is sufficient to relieve this Society from all anxiety; to

enable it to proceed in its honorable endeavor to illustrate and perpetuate the valuable material which it possesses or may hereafter acquire; and to permit its ordinary resources to be appropriated to its general requirements.

As has been truly remarked, it ought to be a very great incentive to accomplish more in our chosen field of labor; and I doubt not every member of the Society will so consider it.

We have now the hope of restoring our valuable but fast perishing gallery of portraits; and, by the farther limitation of the bequest, must feel the responsibility strongly impressed upon us to render our monthly Proceedings more than ever valuable in an historical point of view.

I hope, Sir, that Peabody's own portrait may be placed conspicuous among those memorials of honorable men which adorn our walls; as I am sure that few will be regarded by future generations with more interest than his.

The resolutions were then unanimously adopted, all the members rising.

On motion of the Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, it was *Voted*, That the Standing Committee be requested to procure a portrait or bust of Mr. PEABODY, to be placed in one of the rooms of the Society.

The President read the following from a printed circular signed by the Executive Committee of the Peabody Museum:—

Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology.

Through the munificence of Mr. GEORGE PEABODY, of London, a Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology has been established in connection with Harvard College. In carrying out the wishes of the Founder, it is intended to bring together all objects illustrative of, or bearing upon, the origin, early history, manners and customs, and progress towards civilization, of the aboriginal races of North and South

America. In furthering the objects of the above foundation, the undersigned, the Executive Committee, in behalf of the Board of Trustees, are desirous of obtaining any of the following articles :—

1. Implements of stone, — such as axes, gouges, chisels, clubs, pestles, sinkers, tomahawks, mortars, arrow-heads, spear-heads, &c.

2. Articles of earthenware, — such as vases, pots, pipes, bowls, or images of any kind.

3. Bows, arrows, quivers, spears, rattles, drums, shields, snow-shoes, knives, lodges, medicine bags, tobacco pouches, cooking utensils, articles of dress, either of purely aboriginal make, or such as show the gradual contact of the savage and European races.

4. Mummies, skeletons or parts of skeletons, of any of the North or South American races. Of the parts of skeletons, the skulls are always of great importance ; and the long bones of the limbs, and the hip-bones, are of much value.

5. Antiquities, in the form of images or other sculptures, or the casts of them, from Peru, Mexico, Chili, or Central America.

6. Any articles made by, or relating to, the Esquimaux, and the Fuegians or the Patagonians.

It is within the plan of the Founder to make collections relating to the Archæology and Ethnology of other aboriginal races, especially of such articles as have a bearing upon, or help to illustrate, the history of the American races. The trustees are therefore desirous of obtaining crania, skeletons or parts of skeletons, weapons and implements of all kinds, pottery, or any other articles of aboriginal make, from any portion of the world ; also drawings or casts of them, which may serve to show the differences or resemblances between the various human races in their earliest stages of existence.

ROBERT C. WINTHROP,	} <i>Executive Committee.</i>
ASA GRAY,	
JEFFRIES WYMAN,	

The President then referred to the archæological relics belonging to the Society, deposited in its upper rooms ; and stated that Professor Wyman, the Curator of the Peabody Museum, had expressed a wish to receive these relics, or a selection from them, as a gift or as a deposit, for the use of the Museum.

After remarks by various members, it was *Ordered*, That such aboriginal relics as Professor Wyman should select, belonging to this Society, be, under the direction of the Standing Committee, *deposited* with the "Peabody Museum;" and that a list of every article thus deposited be kept by the Society as well as by the Museum, in order that they may always be recognized as the property of the Historical Society; which now consents to their removal to a new place of deposit, only because it supposes, that, by connecting them with a large collection of other archæological objects, they will be made better to accomplish the purpose of the original donors.

MR. DEANE read the "last will and testament" of Captain John Smith,* of Virginia and New-England

* From this will it seems certain, that Smith left no wife or children; and it is very probable that he was a bachelor. Mr. Charles Campbell, in his "History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia," published in 1860, (at p. 83,) cites a recent book entitled "A Year with the Turks," by Warington W. Smyth, A.M., London, the writer of which claims descent from our Captain Smith. It would seem to be a safe proposition for any one bearing the name of Smith, to say that "John Smith" was his ancestor; but it might be more difficult to demonstrate, that a certain John Smith, who lived two or three hundred years ago, bore that relation.

The following letter from our Corresponding Member, H. G. Somerby, Esq., of London, will find an appropriate place here:—

LONDON, January 22, 1867.

MY DEAR MR. DEANE,—I have much pleasure in sending you an abstract of the will of Captain John Smith's father. I have not a full copy; but I hope to visit Lincoln again before long, when I shall copy it *verbatim et literatim*.

I send also an extract from the parish register of Willoughby, which was given to me by the clergyman there. I have not seen the register myself, which I hope I may do sometime, in order to copy all the entries of the name of Smith.

I remain very truly yours,

CHARLES DEANE, Esq.

H. G. SOMERBY.

"George Smith, of Willoughby, near Alford, County Lincoln. Will dated March 30, 1596.† Desires to be buried in the church of Willoughby. Bequeaths to the Right Honorable my Lord Willoughby, under whom I have many years lived as his poor tenant, as a token of my dutiful good-will, the best of my two years' old colts. Wife Alice, whom he commends to his eldest son, John, to honor and love during his life; younger son, Francis Smith; daughter Alice; kinsman, Robert Smith. Appoints his sons John and Francis executors, and George Mettham supervisor. Witnessed by Thomas Sanbrough and Bartholomew Lawrence."

From the Parish Register of Willoughby.

"John, the son of George Smith, was baptized the sixth day of January, 1579."

† Is there not an error in the date of this will as here given? Smith says "he was about thirteen years of age" when his parents died. In March, 1596, he was in his seventeenth year. "True Travels," pp. 1, 2.—C.D.

memory, from a copy which had been communicated to him by Mr. Henry Brooks Adams, the son and private secretary of our distinguished associate, the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, minister at the Court of St. James from the United States. Mr. Deane said that it would be seen that Captain Smith made his mark, instead of signing his name to this instrument; which must be explained by the fact, that it was executed on the day of his death, namely, the 21st of June, 1631.

The "Last Will and Testament" of Captain John Smith.

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN the one and twentieth daie of June in the seaventh yeare of the reigne of our soveraigne Lord Charles by the grace of God King of England Scotland France & Ireland defender of the faith &c. I *Captain John Smith* of the parish of S^t Sepulchers London Esquio^r, being sicke in bodye but of perfect mind and memory, thanckes be given unto Almighty God therefore, Revoking all former wills by me heretofore made doe make and ordaine this my last will and testament in manner followinge. First I comēd my soule into the handes of Almighty God my maker hoping through the merittes of Christ Jesus my Redeemer to receive full remission of all my sinnes and to inherit a place in the everlasting kingdome, my body I comitt to the earth from whence it came, to be interred according to the discrecion of myne executors hereunder named, and of such worldlie goodes wherof it hath pleased God in his mercie to make me an unworthie Receaver, I give and bequeath them as hereafter followeth. First I give and bequeath unto Thomas Packer Esq^r one of the clerkes of His Ma^{ties} Privy Seale and to his heires for ever, all my houses landes tenementes and hereditamentes whatsoever scituate lyinge and beinge in the parishes of Lowthe and greate Carleton in the countie of Lincolne together with my coate of armes. Item my will and meaninge is that in consideracon therof the sayd Thomas Packer shall disburse and paye all such somes of money and legacies as hereafter in this my will are given bequeathed and reserved not excedinge the some of fowerscore poundes of lawfull money of England, that is to saie: First I reserve unto my selfe to be disposed as I shall thinck good in my life tyme the some of twentie poundes. Item he shall disburse about my funerall the some of twentie poundes. Item I give and bequeath out of the resi-

due of the said fourscore poundes as followeth, viz^t I give and bequeath unto my much honored and most worthie freind S^r Samuel Saltonstall knight the some of fyve poundes. Itm to M^{rs} Tredway the some of fyve poundes. Itm to my sister Smith the widowe of my brother the some of tenn poundes. Itm to my cosen Steven Smith and his sister the some of sixe poundes thirteene shillinges and fower pence betweene them. Itm to the said Thomas Packer Joane his wife and Eleano^r his daughter the some of tenn poundes among them. Item to M^r Reynoldes the say M^r of the goldsmiths Hall the some of fortie shillinges, all wth legacies my meaning and will is shall be paid by the said Thomas Packer his heires executors or administrators wthin one yeare after my decease. Item I give unto Thomas Packer sonne of the above sayd Thomas Packer my trunck standing in my chamber at S^r Samuell Saltonstalls house in S^t Sepulchres parish, togeather with my best suite of apparrell of a tawney color viz^t hose doublet jerkin and cloake. Item I give unto him my trunke bound wth iron barres standing in the house of Richard Hinde in Lambeth, togeather wth halfe the bookes therein, to be chosen by the said Thomas Packer and allowed by myne executors, and the other halfe parte of the bookes I give unto M^r John Tredskin and the said Richard Hind to be divided betweene them. Item I nominate apointe and ordaine my said much honored freind S^r Samuell Saltonstall and the said Thomas Packer the elder, joynt executors of this my last will and testament; the marke of the said John Smith. Read acknowledged sealed and delivered by the said Captaine John Smith to be his last will and testament in the p^rsence of us who have subscribed our names: per me Willm^o Keble Sn^r civitatis London, Willm Packer, Elizabeth Sewster, Marmaduke Walker, his marke, witnes.

Probatum fuit testamentum suprascriptum apud London coram venerabili viro Thoma Eden legum doctore surrogati venerabilis viri dni Henrici Marten militis legum etiam doctoris Curie prerogative Cantuariensis magistri custodis sive commissarij legitime constituti primo die mensis Julij A^o Domini 1631 juramento Thome Packer senioris armigeri unius executorum in hujusmodi testamentum nominatorum cui commissa fuit administratio omnium et singulorum bonorum jurium et creditorum dñi defuncti de bene et fideliter administrando eadem ad sancta Dei Evangelia jurat reservata potestate similem commissionem faciend Samueli Saltonstall milit alteri executorum etiam in hujusmodi testamenti nominat cum venerit eandm petitur Ex^t.

Transcribed from the original Register in the
Prerogative Office of Canterbury, June 17,
1862. — C. H.

Mr. Deane said, that, when he was in London last summer, he saw, at the Public-Record Office, the letter addressed to Lord Bacon by Captain Smith,* in 1618, referred to on p. 21, No. 42, of Sainsbury's "Calendar of Colonial Papers." The body of the letter was probably not written by Smith; but the signature, of which a fac-simile is here given, is, in all probability, his.

Jo Smith.

Mr. Deane also stated, that he saw, at the library of the Society of Antiquaries, in London, in one of the volumes of "Broad-sides," under the year 1623, a copy of Captain Smith's printed prospectus of his "Generall Historie," first printed in 1624; in this, after describing the book, and giving a list of its contents, he concludes thus:—

"These observations are all I haue for the expenses of a thousand pound, and the losse of eighteen yeares of time, besides all the travels, dangers, miseries & incumberances for my countries good, I haue endured gratis; and had I not discovered and liued in the midst of these parts, I could not possibly haue collected the substantial trueth from such an infinite number of variable Relations, that would make a volume of at least a thousand sheetes: and this is composed in lesse then eighty sheetes, besides the three Maps, which will stand me neere in an hundred pounds, which summe I cannot disburse: nor shall the Stationers haue the copy for nothing. Therefore I humbly entreat your Honour, either to adventure, or give me what you please towards the impression and I will be both accountable & thankful: not doubting but that the story will give you satisfaction and stirre vp a double new life in the Adventurers when they

shall see plainly the causes of all those defeilements, & how they may be amended.

And so I humbly rest.

While referring to these memorials of Captain Smith, Mr. Deane took occasion to say, that he paid a visit to St. Sepulchre's Church, in London, under the pavement of which the remains of the hero were buried; but he was not able to see the stone placed over those remains, as the floor of the church at the time was covered with a carpet of "kamptulicon," which concealed all the monuments. The epitaph to his memory, however, it is understood, cannot now be deciphered upon its tablet. It was fortunately preserved by an early chronicler, and was printed in Munday and Dyson's edition of Stow's "Survey of London," published in 1633, two years after the death of Smith. As the inscription has not been often reprinted in this country, Mr. Deane thought it might not be deemed inappropriate to copy it here, in the precise form in which it was originally printed.

This Table is on the South side
of the Quire in Saint *Sepulchers*,
with this Inscription.

To the Living Memory of his
deceased Friend, Captaine JOHN
SMITH, who departed this mortall
life on the 21. day of Iune, 1631.
with his Armes, and this Motto,
Accordamus, vincere est vivere.

Here lies one conquer'd
that hath conquer'd Kings,
Subdu'd large Territories,
and done things
Which to the World
impossible would seeme,
But that the truth
is held in more esteeme.

Shall I report
his former service done
In honour of his God
and Christendome :
How that he did
divide from Pagans three,
Their Heads and Lives,
Types of his Chivalry :
For which great service
in that climate done,
Brave *Sigismundus*
(King of *Hungarion*)
Did give him as a Coat
of Armes to weare,
Those conquer'd heads
got by his Sword and Speare ?
Or shall I tell
of his adventures since,
Done in *Virginia*,
that large Continnence :
How that he subdu'd
Kings unto his yoke,
And made those Heathen flie,
as wind doth smoke ;
And made their Land,
being of so large a Station,
A habitation
for our Christian Nation :
Where God is glorifi'd
their wants suppli'd,
Which else for necessaries
might have di'd ?
But what availes his Conquest,
now he lyes
Inter'd in earth,
a prey for Wormes and Flies ?
O may his soule
in sweet Elizium sleepe,
Vntil the Keeper
that all soules doth keepe,
Returne to Iudgement,
and that after thence,
With Angels he may have
his recompence.

Captaine *Iohn Smith*, sometime Governour of *Virginia*, and Admirall of *New England*.

Mr. WATERSTON read the following paper, in which he traced some coincidences in the lives of George Herbert and John Cotton : —

GEORGE HERBERT AND JOHN COTTON.

Familiar as these two names are,—one identified with the early experiences of New England, and especially with the history of Boston; the other connected with English literature, through that sacred poetry which has endeared itself to the Christian heart, so quaint and yet so tender, marked by the rarest characteristics of original genius,—these two names do not often, perhaps, present themselves simultaneously to the mind, or appear to have (it may be thought) any thing specially in common; yet there are facts which tend to unite them, and which may enable us pleasantly to associate them together.

First, these eminent men were both born in England;—John Cotton in 1585; George Herbert in 1593: John Cotton being a lad eight years old when Herbert was born. They both studied at Cambridge, and were students in the same college. From Trinity College they both received their degree: John Cotton entered in 1598, at the age of thirteen; George Herbert in 1608, at the age of fifteen. Thus we can associate them with the same classic halls. They pursued their studies under the same instructors; listened to the same lectures; were familiar with the same walks.

John Cotton received the degree of Master of Arts in 1606, only two years before Herbert entered the college; while the very year that Herbert went to Cambridge (a young man fifteen years of age), John Cotton preached a funeral oration before the officers and students of the college, in memory of Dr. Soame, Master of Peter House, which excited much attention by its felicity of language, purity of style, and impressive eloquence. What could be more natural than that

George Herbert should have heard that oration? His habitual seriousness of character, and his own purpose of devoting himself to the ministry, render it more than probable that he was a hearer. The next year (1609), John Cotton preached again at St. Mary's, when so great was the expectation awakened, that unusual interest centred upon the occasion,—the vice-chancellor, with all the professors and gentlemen of the University, being present. Herbert was now sixteen years of age, and had been in college a year. Under such circumstances, is it reasonable to suppose that the attention of George Herbert should not have been directed to such a discourse?

Two years after that, Herbert took his degree of Bachelor of Arts (1611). The year following, John Cotton became vicar in the Church of St. Botolph's, at Boston, Lincolnshire; and George Herbert, in 1619, became Orator of the University: in which important office he continued eight years, greatly honored for his varied learning and his many distinguished gifts.

While Herbert held this position, King James visited Cambridge, attended by the Bishop of Winchester and Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam. The friendship, at that time commenced between Herbert and Lord Bacon, continued ever after. Such was Bacon's respect for the knowledge and judgment of Herbert, that he consulted with him before sending his works to the press, one of which, as a proof of his esteem, he publicly dedicated to Herbert. The year succeeding Herbert's appointment as Orator of the University, the Pilgrim Fathers came over to New England in the "Mayflower."

One may see that there are threads in the history of John Cotton and George Herbert, which come very closely together, and which even appear occasionally to intertwine.

In 1633, John Cotton left the vicarage at Boston, in Lincolnshire, and, under an assumed name (so violent was the spirit of persecution at that time), went to London, from

whence he soon made his escape; and, embarking in the Downs in July, arrived at New England on the fourth of September, 1633.

It was in this year (1633), that the Poems of George Herbert, now enjoying a world-wide reputation, were published. Herbert had, in 1630, become connected with the little parsonage at Bemerton, a short distance from Salisbury; to the grand Cathedral of which city it was his delight to go, that he might listen to the church music.

Herbert falling seriously ill, as he drew near the close of his earthly life, he sent for his beloved friend, Farrer; and, to the person by whom he sent the message, he said, "Sir, I beg you to tell my brother Farrer, that my heart is fixed on that place where true joy is only to be found, and that I long to be there, and do wait for my appointed change with hope and patience." Having said this, he did, with so sweet a humility as seemed to exalt him, and with a thoughtful and contented look, bow down and say, "Sir, I pray you, deliver this little book to my dear brother Farrer; and tell him he shall find in it a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have passed betwixt God and my soul. Desire him to read it; then, if he can think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected, poor soul, let it be made public: if not, let him burn it."

This was that excellent collection of Poems now known as "THE TEMPLE," of which Mr. Farrer would say, "that the whole book was such a harmony of holy passions as would enrich the world with pleasure and piety."

Is there any thing in these Poems to remind us of John Cotton? It is certainly pleasant to remember, that this precious volume of Herbert's was given to the world in the same year that John Cotton left his native land and came to these shores.

But, in addition, let us observe this interesting fact: When the manuscripts of the volume were sent to Cambridge (the place where both Cotton and Herbert had studied), in order

that the requisite license for the press might be obtained from the vice-chancellor, in reading the manuscripts, the following remarkable lines arrested attention:—

"Religion stands a tiptoe in our land,
Ready to pass to the American strand."

Startled by these words (which at that day, in England, had great significance, covering a depth of meaning which many now can hardly comprehend), the vice-chancellor declared he could not allow them to be printed. On the other hand, Mr. Farrer insisted that he would by no means allow the book to be printed without them. Upon this subject much time was spent, and arguments were offered for and against. It is a curious thought, that this volume hung, at that moment, in the balance; so that it became doubtful whether the book would ever see the light, because of those two lines.

However, Farrer stood up valiantly for the whole book, declaring these words essential, and that they must keep their place; until at length the vice-chancellor said, "I knew Mr. Herbert well, and that he had many heavenly speculations, and was a divine poet; but I hope the world will not take him to be an inspired prophet, and therefore I will license the whole book." Thus it was that the book came to be printed without the loss of a syllable.

Now (without pausing to ask whether any distinct recollections of John Cotton were lingering in Herbert's mind when he wrote these lines, though we think nothing is more probable than that such should have been the case), this is certain, he must have been thinking of those who, like John Cotton, were ready to leave their native land, and, for conscience' sake and the cause of religion, were seeking refuge in what was then a savage wilderness. He was dwelling upon this thought with sympathetic feeling, and a lively sense of appreciation. So much so, that he exclaimed, it is not heresy;

it is not fanaticism: it is RELIGION herself that is departing for that distant shore.

Thus it is that George Herbert says (in language extraordinary at that time, and the more so as coming from one in the bosom of the Established Church),—

“Religion stands a tiptoe in our land,
Ready to pass to the American strand;”—

while at that moment, (July, 1633), Religion, in the person of JOHN COTTON, was standing tiptoe on the shores of the old world; and, embarking at the Downs, did pass, in very deed, to the American strand; where, on the 4th of September, a hearty welcome was extended to him by Governor Winthrop. Within one month, the same John Cotton, whose voice had so long been heard under the Gothic arches of St. Botolph's, was chosen teacher of the First Church, in our Boston; and there, within the mud walls, and beneath the thatched roof, of that humble building, his words of instruction and sacred counsel were heard; the name of the student of Trinity College, Cambridge, becoming identified with the history of this land, and the company of devout men whose memory can never pass away.

The President called attention to a photograph, lying upon the table, of a “Design for the proposed Soldier's Monument to be erected on Boston Common; height, 120 feet,”—presented by W. G. Brooks.

The President referred to a small volume of manuscript Sermons, lying upon the table, recently presented to the Society. The book had been given to Dr. Jenks, and was received by his family after his decease. At their request, the donor, Mr. Simeon Cotton, of Asheborough, Randolph County, North Carolina, formerly a resident of New England, presented the volume to this Society. Dr. Appleton, the Assistant-

librarian, had pasted the following memorandum in the book :—

“The autograph in this volume must be that of the Rev. Samuel Mather, of Windsor, Connecticut, the eldest son of Timothy, and grandson of Richard Mather; born, 5th of September, 1651; graduated at Harvard College, 1671; ordained, 1682; and died, 18th of March, 1728. The date, apparently 1636, is undoubtedly 1686, a part of the figure 8 being effaced.—J. A., Dec. 26, 1866.”

The Sermons in the volume bear date 1686–1688.

The thanks of the Society were returned to Mr. Colton for the volume.

FEBRUARY MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, February 14th, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; Colonel ASPINWALL, the senior Vice-President (in the absence of the President), in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the City of Boston; the American Numismatic and Archæological Society; the American Philosophical Society; the Boston Athenæum; the Essex Institute; the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec; the New-England Historic-Genealogical Society; the New-Hampshire Historical Society; the New-Jersey Historical Society; Oberlausitzische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Görlitz; the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History;

the Trustees of Oberlin College; the Trustees of the Public Library of the City of Boston; the United-States Sanitary Commission; the Editors of the "Advocate"; the Proprietors of the "Heraldic Journal"; the Publishers of the "Savannah Daily Republican"; John Appleton, M.D.; Brevet Major-General J. G. Barnard; Henry M. Benedict, Esq.; Rev. Dorus Clarke; Thomas J. De Voe, Esq.; Mr. Seth Goldsmith; J. H. Hickcox, Esq.; Clement H. Hill, Esq.; Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq.; Rev. William S. Perry; William F. Poole, Esq.; Colonel Samuel P. Simpson, Adjutant-General of Missouri; Adjutant-General William H. H. Terrell, of Indiana; Mr. Amos Trask; and from Messrs. Amory, W. G. Brooks, Deane, Denny, Ellis, Green, C. Robbins, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from E. A. Dalrymple, Corresponding Secretary of the Maryland Historical Society, communicating some resolutions in commemoration of our late associate, Jared Sparks, which had been passed by the Maryland Historical Society on the 3d of January last.

The President read a letter, dated "Washington, February 2d, 1867," written by A. R. Spofford, the Librarian of Congress, and addressed to Mr. Deane, soliciting the influence of gentlemen connected with this Society, to aid in securing the literary treasures of Colonel Peter Force for the library of Congress. The letter was accompanied by a report on the library of Colonel Force, by Mr. Spofford, which spoke in high terms of the collection, saying, that its commercial value probably far exceeded the price at which the library

could now be purchased by Congress, viz., a hundred thousand dollars. Mr. Spofford hoped that gentlemen would be willing to unite in a petition to Congress to purchase it.

After remarks by Messrs. Frothingham, Deane, Folsom, Amory, Aspinwall, and Hedge, the subject was referred to the Standing Committee, with full power.

Dr. ROBBINS referred to the Dunster manuscript volume, presented to the Society by the President at the last meeting, saying that he had noticed in it a quotation of the celebrated line of George Herbert, —

“Religion stands a tiptoe in our land,” —

which had been made the subject of remarks by Mr. Waterston at the same meeting; but what was especially noticeable was an error of Dunster in giving the Christian name of this poet. His words are, “The Propheticall verses of Mr. *John* Harbert, Concerning America.”

Mr. FROTHINGHAM said he had recently seen this line of Herbert, with a number of the verses following it, from the same poem, “The Church Militant,” in a little duodecimo volume, entitled “The English Empire in America, or a Prospect of His Majesties Dominions in the West Indies,” of date 1685, by “R. B.” (Robert Burton).

Mr. WATERSTON exhibited a beautifully executed portrait in pencil, by Major André, of Miss Margaret Shippen, of Philadelphia, afterwards the wife of Benedict Arnold. The head-dress in the picture is arranged in that peculiarly elevated style which was characteristic of

the time, though perhaps in an exaggerated degree ; and members remarked, that it somewhat resembled the head-dress of a lady in a picture painted by André, "to exhibit the proper mode of dressing the head for the *Mischianza*:" a fac-simile of which, in the "American Historical and Literary Curiosities," edited by John Jay Smith and John F. Watson, was exhibited at the meeting.

Mr. Waterston accompanied the exhibition of the picture, which he said belonged to Mr. Edward Shippen, of Philadelphia, with a relation of some interesting incidents in the life of Mrs. Arnold, and in the career of André.

Dr. BIGELOW referred to the fact, which he supposed was well known to the members, that, on the removal of the remains of André to England, in 1821, it was found, that the roots of a tree, which had been planted over the grave, had grown around and completely encased the skull.

Reference having been made to the personal accomplishments of André, Mr. FROTHINGHAM said he remembered a remark of an old soldier, who had stood sentinel at the door of the room in which André was confined, that "he was the handsomest man he ever laid eyes on."

Mr. WHITNEY communicated to the Society a gift from Dr. John E. Tyler, of the McLean Asylum, Somerville, consisting of Governor Bernard's Fast Proclamation for 1763 ; it being the copy sent to the Rev. Ebenezer Parkman, of Westborough, and read by him from the pulpit.

Mr. Whitney also communicated from Dr. Tyler several manuscript sermons of Mr. Parkman's; and a volume containing notes of sermons preached by a number of clergymen during the years 1718, 1719, and 1720, while Mr. Parkman was in college.

The thanks of the Society were voted Dr. Tyler for this acceptable gift.

Mr. SIBLEY stated, that there were, in the Library of the Antiquarian Society at Worcester, a number of volumes of the manuscript diary of the Rev. Ebenezer Parkman.

Mr. DEANE called the attention of members to a volume of "Monumental Memorials of the Appleton Family," prepared by our Assistant-Librarian, Dr. John Appleton, by whom the volume was presented to the Society. Among the Memorials in the volume, is an engraving of the helmet and armor of Sir Isaac Appleton (an older brother of Samuel Appleton, the emigrant to New England), which, till within a few years, hung over his tomb in the chancel of the church at Little Waldingfield, Suffolk, England.

Colonel ASPINWALL remarked, that he visited Little Waldingfield many years since (in 1819), in company with the late Ebenezer Appleton; and he remembered seeing this helmet and armor suspended in the chancel of the church, over the Appleton tomb.

MARCH MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, March 14th, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the City of Cambridge; the American Numismatic and Archæological Society; the Impartial-Suffrage League; the State Historical Society of Iowa; the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; the United-States Sanitary Commission; John Appleton, M.D.; John Romeyn Brodhead, Esq.; Elias H. Derby, Esq.; John H. Ellis, Esq.; Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq.; Adjutant-General Selden E. Marvin, of New York; Commander George H. Preble, U.S.N.; Benjamin S. Shaw, M.D.; Hon. Thaddeus Stevens; Rev. Edwin M. Stone; Hon. Charles Sumner; John E. Tyler, M.D.; Hon. Henry Wilson; Mrs. Joseph E. Worcester; John S. Wright, Esq.; and from Messrs. Amory, J. Bigelow, Deane, Denny, Ellis, Green, Latham, C. Robbins, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from Joseph Jackson Howard, of Blackheath, Kent County, England, in acknowledgment of his election as a Corresponding Member.

The President called attention to a "photograph, from a portrait taken in childhood, of the Rev. Henry Gibbs,

son of Robert Gibbs of Boston," presented by the Assistant Librarian, Dr. Appleton.

There was also exhibited upon the table a piece of needlework, wrought in 1681, by Mercy Greenough, the daughter of William Greenough, of Boston, and afterwards wife of the Rev. Henry Gibbs, of Watertown. She was born Feb. 16, 1673, and died January 26th, 1715-16.

The President read a letter, addressed to himself, from W. Noël Sainsbury, Esq., of the Public-Record Office, London, in which he expressed a wish, provided he could meet with sufficient encouragement, "to make a complete collection, so far as they are preserved, of the Reports of the British Crown on all the Acts (with the titles of the Acts themselves) passed by the Legislative Assemblies of the several States of America during the time they were British Colonies," &c. He spoke of an act passed by the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay in 1771, entitled "An Act for incorporating a certain tract of land called Pond Town, in the County of Lincoln, into a township by the name of Winthrop." Mr. Sainsbury desired that Mr. Winthrop would give him his opinion concerning his plan, or speak to others who might be interested in it.

The letter of Mr. Sainsbury was referred to the Standing Committee.

Messrs. Thayer, Salisbury, and Whitney were appointed a Committee to make the annual examination of the accounts of the Treasurer.

Messrs. S. Lincoln, Ellis, and Saltonstall were ap-

pointed a Committee to nominate a list of officers, to be presented at the annual meeting.

Mr. DEANE made the following communication respecting the seal of the "Council for New England:" —

I wish, Mr. President, to refer here to a subject to which, it appears, I had promised, more than a year since, to call the attention of the Society; and I cannot better introduce it than by reading the "Advertisement" of Dr. Palfrey, placed before the Preface, in the large-paper edition of his "History of New England," published in 1865. It is as follows:—

The titlepage to this edition is embellished with an engraved copy of what was probably the seal of the Council for New England. When I was in England I took great pains to find an impression of that seal, but without success; which surprised me, the patents issued by the Council having been so numerous. An impression of the seal in wax is attached to the patent of Plymouth Colony, issued in 1629; but it has been so broken and defaced, that the device is undistinguishable. Mr. Charles Deane believes that he has discovered this in an embellishment of the titlepages of two of the publications of Captain John Smith. I might do injustice to Mr. Deane's ingenious argument (which, I understand, will soon be published in a volume of the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society), should I attempt to exhibit it. It will be found to have great force. J. G. P.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS;
1866, July 21.

The "argument" respecting the seal was presented to Dr. Palfrey in the following letter:—

CAMBRIDGE, 10th June, 1866.

DEAR DR. PALFREY, — You have made inquiry, during the last few years, concerning the seal of the "Council for New England," which was incorporated 3d November, 1620, — whether any impression of it in wax, or any representation of it in any form, is extant among us. My search for such an impression of it has hitherto been fruitless; but I venture the opinion, that I have now discovered or identified it.

My attention, a few weeks since, was called anew to the arms impressed on the reverse of the titlepage of Captain Smith's "Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of *New England*, or anywhere, . . . London, . . . 1631;" the same arms being also displayed in the body of Smith's map of New England, in the two latest editions of it. Copies of the former of these two editions of the map had probably been first issued in the "Advertisements," in 1631. I knew that these arms were not the arms of Smith, or of any one to whom he had dedicated his book; and I was curious to ascertain for what reason they were here placed in such intimate connection with the memorials of New England. I then examined, with fresh interest, what I had seen a hundred times before,—the beautifully engraved titlepage of Smith's "Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, & the Summer Iles, . . . London, . . . 1624;" and I there observed these same arms represented, along with those of Virginia, which bear the motto, "En dat Virginia quintum,"* and also with the arms of the Bermuda (or "Summer Iles") Company, bearing the motto, "Quo fata ferunt." The inference is, therefore, irresistibly forced upon me, that the arms referred to are those of the seal of the Council for New England. I will add, that, after the fashion of the time, there is delineated, on the engraved titlepage of the "Generall Historie," an abridged map of Virginia and New England. Near the part representing Virginia are placed the arms of Virginia; and near the coast of New England are placed the arms, which I now venture to call the arms of the Council for New England, an impression of which I now send you in one of Smith's books.

I suppose this seal was affixed to the principal grants of the Council; but the original parchments of most of those grants are not known to be in existence; and those which I have examined are deficient in the wax impressions of the seal. The Patent of New Plymouth, of 13th January, 1629–30, has the seal; but it is so broken and defaced that I understand the impression cannot be made out.

With great regard, I am, dear sir,

Very truly yours,

CHARLES DEANE.

HON. J. G. PALFREY.

* The arms and motto of the Virginia Company were subsequently used as the seal of the *Colony* of Virginia. The present seal of Virginia was substituted for this in 1776. It is said that the word "quintum" was changed to "quartam" after the union of England and Scotland. See Maxwell's "Historical Register," i. 87.

A copy of the seal is represented in the following woodcut:—



I would say, that, since addressing the above letter to Dr. Palfrey, I have inspected the impression of the seal of the Patent at Plymouth. It had been broken in pieces; and, some years since, an attempt was made to restore the fragments to their original position, but with little success. I will add, that the present appearance of the wax exhibits but little resemblance to the device above referred to, or indeed to any other heraldic figure.

I made inquiry at the Herald's College in London, last year, and at other places in that city where I thought there was a probability of getting information on the subject of this seal, but without success.

Mr. John Bruce, a distinguished antiquary, and a member of the Society of Antiquaries, kindly interested himself in my subject, and suggested some sources of inquiry. In a note to me he says, "In Edmondson's 'Heraldry,' London, 1780, folio, vol. i., which you have probably consulted, amongst the arms of societies and bodies corporate established in London, occur the arms of the Virginia Company and the Bermudas Company, but, strangely enough, not those of the New-England Company. The two former agree, I believe, with the representations on Smith's titlepage. In that case,

your inferences as to the last being the subject of the third coat given by him, seems almost conclusive."

Mr. Bruce suggested, that it was "possible that arms on a seal might have been used permissively, whilst the Company was in a state of unsettlement (at the commencement of its undertakings), with an understanding between the Heralds and the Company, that a grant should be afterwards obtained."

The motto, "*Gens incognita mihi serviet*," will readily occur to the reader as the language of Scripture; and it was suggested to me, that it might be found in that form in the Vulgate. In 2 Sam. xxii. 44, the words are "*Populus quem ignoro serviet mihi*;" and in Psalm xviii. 43, "*Populus quem non cognovi serviet mihi*." These instances are the nearest approach to the words of the motto that the Concordance of the Vulgate revealed.

The Rev. CHARLES BURROUGHS, D.D., of Portsmouth, N.H., a Corresponding Member, was present, and read a letter from the Hon. Paine Wingate to John Parker, Esq., dated New York, April 8th, 1787. Also two letters of Bishop White, of Philadelphia, to Tobias Lear, one dated February 2d, 1792; and the other, January 3d, 1793. The letters were presented by Dr. Burroughs to the Society.

Dr. Burroughs also presented some Siamese books, including a "Bali Book" written on a species of palm-leaf, being a "History of Diseases incident to this Life." One was the "Treaty of Commerce between the Government of Siam and that of the United States, made by Edmund Roberts, Chargé d'Affaires to Siam, signed April 1, 1833 (see "Roberts's Embassy," &c., New York, 1837, p. 314); the latter being written on a paper resembling black-slate paper.

Dr. Burroughs also presented a copy of the "Pekin

Daily Gazette," the "only newspaper published in China for a population of 414,000,000 inhabitants."

The Society presented its acknowledgments to Dr. Burroughs for these acceptable gifts.

Mr. SIBLEY read the following letter from a photographic fac-simile:—

General Washington to Jonathan Williams.

PHILADELPHIA, March 24 1795

SIR,—The letter with which you favored me, dated the 2^d ult^o, came duly to hand. I am at a loss for words to convey the sense I entertain of the favorable sentiments you have been pleased to express of me in that letter.

To the Great Ruler of events, not to any exertions of mine, is to be ascribed the favorable termination of our late contest for liberty. I never considered the fortunate issue of any measure adopted by me in the progress of the revolution, in any other light than as the ordering of kind Providence; and if the partiality of my countrymen do justice to my motives thro' that arduous struggle, and to those which have since occurred, in the administration of the present government (as the result of the contest), it is the only reward I ever sought, and the greatest that could be conferred on, Sir

Your most Obed^t. H^{ble}. Serv^t,

Hon^{ble} JONATHⁿ WILLIAMS Esq^r

G^o WASHINGTON.

The President communicated and presented to the Society a number of interesting original papers, illustrating different subjects in the history of New England, copies of the principal part of which here follow, filling the remaining pages of this volume:—

Expedition from New London to Woodstock, Conn., February, 1699.

A Journall of the Expedition from N. London to Woodstock p order of the Gov^r & councill, under the Comānd of Capt Samⁿ Mason, the whol number of Men amounted unto thirty one, wherof eighteen were Indians; from Mohegan & Shatukkett.

Began o^r March feb^r y^e second in the Morning, and arived at night at Pigscomsuck, about 25 miles from New London, the Indians

lodged at Shatukkett, about Eight mile short of Pigeonsuck, Nenaquabeen being also wth them.

The third day of feb^r, we arived at Woodstock about two a clock after-noon, Where we found that Divers of the principal Indians were gone off, wth many of the Squaws, & Children, pretending fear, and danger from the Mohegans, whom (they said) they Expected to knock them on the head, before Morning: it being then about Midnight, that they made their Escape, and by a squaw that returned next day, from the Indians departed, we have news that they travelled sixteen Mile that night, and that Divers of the Children were much frozen, and one man was nere loosing his life going over a River.

thirsday, feb^r y^e first, was dispac^th'd, by the people of Woodstock, a young Indian, to signifie to the Indians drawn off that their was no cause for them to fly, by reason of the Moheags or any others; and to Invite & perswade them home againe — wth young man got within about thre miles of them, when the Squaw above said that return'd met him: but of him their is no more news; his father being wth them that drew off, it is supposed he perswaded him to go with them.

The Rev^d M^r Josiah Dwight, wth the Comition officers of Woodstock, being desired to give their advice what was best to be done to recov^r the Indians, were one wth us in o^r Opinion; that it was the best way to send after them; and accordingly Kinsodock, Mavkheag, & Pesecus, thre Woodstock Indians, were sent forth feb^r 4th p the way of Dunstable, wth Each man his arms, a Pass, and a letter to Coll. Ting at Dunstable, the Content wherof is as followeth.

HON^{ED} S^{rs}

NEW ROXBURY, feb^r 4th 1692

The Gov^r and Councill of the collony of Connecticott having received undoubted advice; that their [is] a Combination among some of the Indians, to make war upon the English, and that divers of the Indians belonging to Woodstock are drawn off (wth the Women & children, and carried wth them much of the treasure of those which are left) being desirous that all possible means might be used to prevent their design, and likewise to reduce those gon from hence, have ordered and appoynted my selfe, wth some other Gent: to come hither, and make farther Enquiry, and so to procede or desist as was most advisable, and finding matter of fact too true, have wth the advice of the Gentlemen here present thought fitt to Imploy, and send the bearer hereof Kinsodock a Wabekasset Indian, and two of his Cuntry Men named Maukheag, & Pesecus; praying you to forward them in their Jorney to Penacook, or Menadnuk, where, as Wee understand, the Combined Indians keep their head Quarters, or to any other place, where o^r Indians are gon, that att least they may be Invited home, and to recomend the favour of authority unto al such as shall return to the English, and if their be wth you any Indians that you can assure yo^r selfe of

their fidelity, (We having sufficient demonstration that these now sent are Indians of great faithfulness to the English) it may be for advantage to send some wth these, that they may fully Enform the Indians, that the English have no design against them, as hath been suggested to them; but that if Tobey him selfe should return, he would have Curteous Treatment, shewed him.

S^r pray let me have Intelligence from you if any thing offer worthy of Consideration.

The Indians now sent desire, & wee approve of it, that unless some of the Penacook Indians, or those about you, can goe wth them, that they immediately return back: unless you shall give yo^r advice otherwise:

I ad not save that I am yo^r &
the Cuntreys friend & humble Serv^{tt}.

SAM^{LL} MASON,

The Superscription was
For His Majesties Special Service
To Coll. Jonath. Ting
att Dunstable.

p 8 Indians.

THE PASS.

These are to signifie that

Kinsodock, Maukheag and Pesacus, Indians belonging to Wabequasset, are Employed in his Majesties service to Dunstable, unto whom all persons are to be assisting in their way thither, wth what is needfull for them, and not to take from them their arms upon Pawn; or otherwise.

p order of the Gov^r and Councill

WOODSTOCK, febr 4th 1699.
v

of the Collony of Connecticut:

Sign'd p SAM^{LL} MASON, Assiat.

The Indians thus Improved, were hastned away Early on the 4th of febr. The same day came John Ingals, an English man from the French Town (about 12 mile from Woodstock, called Oxford) having had a flying Report, that the Indians were gone off: by whom the people at Wood-stock had Oppertunity to send to my lord Bellomont, wth they did, signifieing to His Excell: Their fears of Evill appoa[c]h- ing from the Enemie, as also the present aid from this Gov^m: Monday febr 5th We offering to leave six Mohegans, att New Roxbury for their defence and safety, and for the Inspection of the Indians there yet remaining; upon Condition that they finde them provition at their own charge; it was kindly accepted by them, and they desire also 6 Pequots on the same terms: wth was promised them.

The principall Indians now at Woodstock, being asked their advice, what might be best for their security, and offering to leave wth them 6 Mohegans, and to send six Pequots for the safety and defence of Woodstock, and them; kindly accepted the motion, and offer to Con- tribute to y^e Charge of their Maintenance, and find them room in their wigwams.

The Indians Employed to Dunstable, having left their Children,

and Concerns behind them, the other Indians promis to take care of them in their absence, at least for 10 daise, or a fortnight; by wth time, or before, they expect their return.

L^t Sabin is desired to take care of o^r Indians, and Improve them to the best advantage for their defence: their names are Tukkitch-a-won, Kitchipatowin, Nohnient, Tuntohquechen, Rohehegon, Sase-quichasuck.

After noon, the rest of the Mohegans were dismist from farth^r service, and sent home, and o^r time was principally Improved to receive Information from sundrey of the English of divers Intimations they had from the Indians, and particularly John Sabin, a man who hath been at a very great Charge in the last war, in standing his ground, in engaging the Indians to the Interest of the English, in keeping whol families of Indians, while the men have been out in the service and never had any consideration from this Collony, of which he is an Inhabitant & no Inconsiderable Memb^r, hath had diver Intimations that Evill hath been designed some months. Aquittimaug told him, That at his returne from Boston, by the way of Natick, w^a he Carried his Tribute of Venison to my lord, & M^r Stoughton, the Natick Indians Informed him, that Ere long he and they must be put upon an Iland, as in the Last war, if they still hold correspondence wth the English; that the same Estward Indians had been at Natick, that had made peace wth my lord, to make friends wth them, and told them, they must all agree ag^t the English; he hath also had advice among some, that Nenecraft and the Seconet Indians have had advice as soon as the Mohegan Indians, p Keensodock, who is properly a Mounthope Indian, and was very nere of kin to Phillip; That Maukheag tho' he hath lived wth the Wabequasets a dozⁿ year or more, yet is a prop^r Mogehan; that he hath been all the Last sumer wth the Panacook and other upcuntry Indians, and hath ever since he came home, Endeavoured to draw of his family thither; That Divers of the Indians have been going to discov^r to him something Extreordinary that lay upon their spirits, but yet he could not get it from them, (planely) but very darkly. Butt wth a great deal of affection, would tel him, they would not let mischiefe befall him, nor his Children, but give him notice, to secure him selfe; he was likewise very Instrumentall to stop divers that were going off wth the other; a young Indian who had received a great deal of kindnes from him, and was also Bro. to Nena, sent by a perticuler Indian of his acquaintance that stayed behinde, that he must tell his good friend John Sa—, that he could not come to tell him more news

according to his promis, but would certainly rememb^r to shew him and his Children kindness.

This John Sabin, tho exceedingly well seated, and settled, is going off, and divers of the Inhabitants of Woodstock, that have great opportunities to understand something from the Indians; being all of them very apprehensive of aproa[c]hing mischief: the Most or all the Indians about a fortnight since had a Meeting at a pond about Eight mile Distant from Woodstock, N.W. from y^e Town, pretending to go on fishing (w^{ch} they never did before at that pond); they returned againe in about 3 or 4 daise, without *fish*.

The Indians have a notion of a sight seen in the ayr about a twelve-month agoe Last Octob^r, of an English man armed, and an Indian wth Bow & Arrows, that they mett wth their heads together wth some violence, and then parted: Layed down thier arms and Combated wth each other, untill they both fell; the Englishman Upermost; but striving on the ground, the Indian got above; they parted againe, and fought wth their Arms, until the Indian vanquished the Englishman: wth they look upon, to portend the downfall of the English.

On Tuesday 6th feb^r, we took leave wth o^r friends at Woodstock, desiring advice might be sent to the Hon^{ble} Gov^r att New London, as soon, and as often as any thing offered, where by the way at Pigscomsuck we parted wth Part of o^r Company, Lodged that night at Preston, next day went to Scaudaub's town, to order 6 pequots to Woodstock, who Were very willing to goe, but withall they signified some displeasure, that they were not Improved to go forth at first, as well as the Mohegans; They have a pass to Woodstock, it is as followeth:

N. LONDON, feb^r 7th 1699
766

The bearer hereof Moses a Pequot Indian, and with him five more of the pequots, bound unto Woodstock in the service of his Majestie; for the security of said place and Indians there belonging, w^{ch} are not yet gon of to the Enemie, are to be allowed to pass thither without Molestation, and forwarded in their Journey as Ocation requires—

Given under my hand in N. london,
the day & year above said.

Ordered to march
to Morrow Morning.

SAM^{ll} MASON, Assist^{nt}

The Indians drawn off, are many of them Related to Nenaquabeen, but his wife & the most of his children are yett at Woodstock: it was thought advisable to leave him there, he may doe much service in makeing farther discoveries, and the mohegans wil have a perticuler care over him & his children.

The Cart belonging unto James Corbin, in which was store of Amunition, is come safe to Woodstock; the people went out wth Arms to the number of six or eight to meett them; & James Corbin is desired not to dispose of any amunition to any Indian what-ever, but wth the aprobatⁿ of L^t Sabin or M^r Dwight, wth he hath promised to doe.

Wth this supply of amunition and other prudent care among the Inhabitants, Every man is well supplied, and the L^t tels us they are in a good capacity in this respect to make resistance, in case of an attack p the Enemie, and he Expects speedy orders from my lord for what may otherwise be proper for them.

This is a faithfull acc^t, taken down p order of Captⁿ Sam^l Mason, to be presented to the Hon^{ble} The Gov^r & Council of the Collony of Connecticut.

[Indorsed

Jornall of an Expedition
to Woodstock; Feb. 2^d 1699.

The following brief account of the attack upon Deerfield by the French and Indians, on the morning of the 29th of February, 1703-4, was written soon after its occurrence. A most interesting narrative of the sufferings of the Rev. John Williams and his family,—part of whom were killed at this time, while the remainder, except one son, then absent, were carried captives to Canada,—was published by Mr. Williams in 1707, in a small volume, entitled “*The Redeemed Captive, Returning to ZION,*” &c. In the Appendix to “*The Third Edition*” of that work, edited by Prince in 1758, is a list of the slain, the captives, &c.

An account of y^e destruction at Derefd, febr 29, 1703.

UPON y^e day of y^e date aboves^d about 2 howrs before day, y^e French & Indian Enemy made an attaque upon Derefeild, entered y^e Fort with Litle discovery (though it is s^d y^e watch shot of a gun & cryed Arm, wth verry few heard) imeadiatly set upon breaking open dores & windows to[ok] y^e Watch & others Captive, & had y^e men appointed to Lead y^m away, others improved in Rifling houses of

provisions, mony, cloathing, drink, & packing up & sending away; the greatest p^r standing to their Armes, firing houses, & killing all they could y^t made any resistance; alsoe killing Cattle, hogs, sheep, & sacking & wasting all that came before y^m, Except some persons that Escaped in y^e Crowds, some by Leaping out at Windows & over y^e fortification. Some ran to Capt Well his Garrison, & some to Hatfeild with Litle or no cloathing on, & barefooted, w^{ch} with y^e bitterness of y^e season caused y^m to come of wth frozen feete, & Lye Lame of y^m. One house, viz. Benoni Stebbins, they attaqued Later then some others, y^t those in it were well awakened, being 7 men, besides Woemen & children, who stood stoutly to y^r Armes, fired upon y^e Enemy, & y^e Enemy upon y^m, caused sevⁿ of the Enemy to fall, of w^{ch} was one frenchman, a Gentile man to appearence. Y^e Enemy gave back, they strove to fire y^e house, o^r men killed 3 or 4 Indians in their attempt, y^e Enemy being numerous about y^e house, powered in much shot upon the house, y^e walls being filled up with brick, y^e force of y^e shot was repelled, yet they killed sayd Stebbins, & wounded one man & one woeman, of w^{ch} y^e surviv^m made no discovery to y^e Assailents, but with more then ordinary Couridge kept firing, haveing powder & Ball sufficient in s^d house. y^e Enemy betook y^m selves to the next house & y^e Meeteing house, both w^{ch} but about 8 rod distant, o^r men yet plyed their buiness & accepted of no q^r, though offered by y^e Enemy, nor Capitulate, but by their guns giveing litle or no Respitt from y^e tyme they began (say some of y^e men in y^e house shot 40 tymes, & had fair shots at y^e Enemy all the while) about one howr before day till y^e Sun about one howr & half high, at w^{ch} tyme they were almost spent; yet at y^e verry pintch, ready to yeild, o^r men from Hadly & Hatfeild, about 30 men, rushed in upon y^e Enemy & made a shot upon them, at w^{ch} they Quitted their Assaileing y^e house & y^e Fort alsoe; the house at Libertie, woemen & children ran to Cap^t Wells his fort, the men wth ours still p^sued the Enemy, all of them vigorously, caused many of y^e Enemy to fall, yet being but about 40 men p^sued to farr, imprudently, not altogether for want of conduct, for Cap^t Wells who led them called for a retreat, which they Litle mynded, y^e Enemy discovering their numb^r haveing a[m]bushm^{ts} of men, caused o^r men to give back though to Late, being a Mile from y^e Fort; in y^r drawing of & at y^e Fort Lost 11 of o^r men viz. Serg^t Benj. Waite, Serg^t Samⁿ Boltwood, & his son Rob^t Boltwood, Samⁿ Foot, Samⁿ Alliss, Nath^l Warner, Jonth Ingram, Thomas Selding, David Hoite, & Jos: Ingersoll, Jos Catlin, & after o^r men recovered the Fort againe, the Enemy

drew of, haveing at s^d house & in the ingam^m, (as is Judge by y^e best calculation we can come at) Lost a bout 50 men, & 12 or 15 wounded (as o^r captive says) w^{ch} they carried of, & is thought they will not see Canada againe, (& s^d Captive E-scaped says) they, viz., the Enemy, went 6 mile that night; about midnight y^e same night were gathered of o^r uper & Low^r Towns neer about 80 men w^{ch} had thoughts with that numb^r to have Assaulted y^e Enemy that Night, but y^e snow being at Least 3 foot deep & impassable without snow shoes (w^{ch} we had not a supply of) & doubtfull whether we could attaque y^m before day, being in no Capacitie to follow y^m but in their path, they in a Capacitie to flank us on both sides, being fitted with snow shoes, & with treble o^r Numb^r, if not more, & some were much concerned for the Captives, m^r W^m famly Especially, whome y^e Enemy would kill if we come on, & it was concluded we should too much Expose o^r men. The next day by two of the Clock, Coniticot men began to come in, & came by pth till within Night, at w^{ch} tyme we were Raised to 250 men in Dereft^a, but the afores^d Objections & y^e weather verry Warme, & like to be so (& so it was w^{ch} Raine) we judge it imposible to travill, but as afores^d, to uttermost disadvantage, Especially w^a we came up with y^m to an attaque, (Providence put a bar in o^r way) we Judge we should Expose o^r selves to y^e Loss of men, & not be able, as the case was circumstanced, to offend the Enemy or Rescue o^r Captives, which was y^e End we aimed at in all, therefore desisted, & haveing buried the dead, saved w^t we Could of Cattⁿ, hogg, & sheep, & other Estate, out of y^e spoyles of y^e Remayneing Inhabitants, & some of o^r N. H., Hadly, & Hatf^a men settled a Garrison of 30 men or upwards, und^r Cap^t Wells, & drew of to o^r places; of y^e destructions of Dereft^a see more over the Leafe.*

* The table on the next page is from the same sheet as the preceding account. The reader may be pleased to compare this with the list in the "Appendix" to Prince's edition of the "Redeemed Captive," above referred to, subsequently prepared by the Rev. Stephen Williams, who, at the age of eleven years, was carried captive with his father to Canada at this time. See also "Antiquarian Researches on Indian Wars. By E. Hoyt." Greenfield, 1824; and "Biographical Memoir of the Rev. John Williams," &c. By Stephen W. Williams. Greenfield, 1837.

In the column beneath the heading "Estate Lost," the figures probably represent the number of pounds in the lawful currency of the colony. — Eds.

The Revd Mr. John Williams	Captivity	Blaine	Alive & home	Estate Lost
The Revd Mr. John Williams	7 himself & 6 children	8 Mrs Wms found dead 24 days journey of 2 children	1 at Hadly	800 house, Barn burnt & all in them.
Godfrey Nimes	3 wife & 2 children	4 children	1 himself	250 house. Barn burnt & all in them.
Philip Mattoone	0	8 himself wife & child.	0	50 Lost
Benj Mun	0	8 himself wife & child	3 himself wife & child	20 Lost
Sanson Frary	1 wife	8 himself 2 children	2 children	250 house. Barn burnt, Estate in it.
Martin Kellogg	2 himself & Son	4 children	1 wife	40 Lost
Benj Burt	2 himself & wife great with child	0	0	20 Lost
David Alexander	1 wife	2 himself & child	0	20 Lost
Wid Coes	2 herself & child	2 himself & Son burnt in his house	1 Wife.	250 house. Barn & all in y ^e burnt.
Mr J ^r Catlin	2 children	1 himself	2 Wife & Child	20 Lost
Jos. Catlin	0	1 child	0	100 Lost
Tho: French	7 himself wife & 5 children	1 daughter	8 himself & two sons at home.	150 house. burnt cattl. hoggs, &c.
Dan ^d Redding	1 wife	0	0	20 Lost
Eber ^s Werner	4 himself wife & 2 children	3 children	1 himself	100 Lost Barn burnt & house killed.
Sam ^d Carter	5 wife & children	0	8 himself wife & children	70 Lost house burnt.
Eben ^r Brooks	7 himself wife & 5 children	0	2 children	50 Lost
Le Holte Shelding	3 children	2 wife 1 child	1 himself	100 Lost
Dean Shelding	1 wife	2 children	0	100 Lost
Jos Shelding his Son	2 himself & wife	0	0	100 Lost
Maria Shelding	7 himself wife & 3 children	0	0	100 house burnt & Es- tate in it.
J ^r Stebbins	4	0	0	20 Lost
Deayon & wife & 2 Frentchmen.	3 himself wife & Servant girl	0	0	100 house & all in it burnt cattl killed.
Simon Beaman	4 himself wife & 2 children	0	0	70 house burnt & Es- tate.
Nathl Brooks	0	1 himself	6 wife & 5 children at home	300 houses & all goods Barn & cattl burnt.
Benoni Stebbins	0	1 himself	2 wife & child also wounded 1 child	50 Lost
David Holte jur	0	1 himself	0	50 Lost
Joseph Pettee	2 himself & wife	0	0	50 Lost
	70	88	88	2840

next pa

	Captive or Burnt	Status	Alive at home	Estates Lost
Jno Allison	0	0	2 himself & wife	10 Lost
The Allison & mother of 84 y ^s	0	0	2 himself & Mother	10 Lost
Jno Marsh & Sarah Dickenson	2 Hads persons	0	0	6 Lost
Jos Pomey	2 himself & wife	0	0	20 Lost
Jno Wilton	1 himself	0	0	0
Banu Smead	0	4 wife Mother & 2 children Smothered in a seller.	1 himself	50 hous burnt
Jno Hawks ju ^r	0	6 himself wife 8 children smothered in a Seller with Martin Smith.	0	70 hous burnt
Andr. Stephens y ^s Indian	1 Wife	1 himself	0	20 Lost
Wid Hurst	7 herself & 6 children in captivity	0	0	20 house burnt
Jno Hawk's Sur	2 children	1 Wife	1 himself	50 house burnt
Jno Field	2 Wife & child	2 children	1 himself	50 house burnt
Robt Price	1 child	1 Wife	1 himself	10 Lost
Mr Jno Richards	0	0	6 himself wife & 8 children	50 house burnt
Jos Brooks	0	0	4 himself wife 2 children	10 Lost
Capl Wells	0	0	9 himself wife & 7 children	0
Eller Hawks	0	0	10 himself wife & 8 children	0
W ^s Arnes	0	0	8 himself wife & 4 children	0
W ^s Belding	0	0	4 herself & 2 children	0
Wid Williams	0	0	7 herself & 6 children	0
Wid Mattoons	0	0	8 himself wife & child	0
Jno Smeade	0	0	6 himself wife 4 child	0
Eben Smead	0	0	7 himself wife 5 child	0
Richard Mitchell	0	0	7 himself wife 6 child	0
Eben Severn	0	0	10 at home	0
Jno Alline	1 child	5 Killed.	105	876
Edward Alline	0	20	105	2840
Garrison Soule ^r sent up	5 captiv ^s .	22	137	8016
forgetting pa.	26	53		
	70			
	96			

There is yet Left of y^s Inhabitants 25 men, & 27 are Killed & in Captiv^e.

There is 17 houses with Barnes to y^s burnt within side & without the Fort.

There is yet houses standing within side y^s Fort, 9 houses, & without, 16 houses, of w^{ch} Capl Wells is one of them, well fortified, in w^{ch} is the Garrison now kept.
The Women & children at home are come of to Northampton, Hadly, & Hatfield, also the wounded men & one wounded woman are in Hatfield under Doctor Hastings care.

[Indorsed] — "The destruction at Deerfield Feb. 29. 1703-4."

The following announcement of the death of King William the Third, and of the accession of Queen Anne, by the Council of Massachusetts, to Governor Fitz John Winthrop of Connecticut, was not signed by Governor Dudley, for the reason, that his Excellency did not arrive in Boston till the 11th of June, ten days after this letter was written: —

The Council of Massachusetts to Governor Winthrop of Connecticut.

HON^{BLE} S^S:

BOSTON June 1st 1702.

The awful Tidings of the death of our late Sovereign Lord King WILLIAM, of ever glorious memory, having for some time before been reported unto us by Letters and otherwise from divers parts and places, as, from Madera, Barbados, Surinam and Curacao, was to our unspeakable grief and sorrow, confirmed by several Prints and papers from England, arriving to us by the way of Newfoundland, upon Thursday the 28th of May past, and together therewith the Intelligence of the happy Accession of the high & mighty Princess ANNE of Denmark, to the Throne, as by the Proclamation of the R^t Hon^{ble} the Lords Spiritual & Temporal, of the s^d high and mighty Princess ANNE, to be Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Given at the Court at S^t James's the eighth day of March, 1701, by the humble Address of their Lord^{sh} in Parliament assembled, of the same date, presented to her Ma^{ty} the 9th of March, with her Ma^{ty} most gracious answer thereunto, and by her Ma^{ty} most gracious Speech to both houses of Parliam^t on Wednesday the 11th of s^d month; also, by the Votes of the Hon^{ble} the House of Commons of the 8th of March, all which have been reprinted here and are inclosed.

We thought it necessary to make your Honour acquainted therewith, and withal to let you understand that we ordered the s^d Proclamation of her s^d Royal Ma^{ty} the Queen to be published here on Friday the 29th of May, which was accordingly performed with all

the decency and demonstrations of Joy which we were capeable of expressing on such a Solemnity.

We are, Hon^{ble} S^r: Your humble Servants,

	NATHANIEL THOMAS	JOHN PYNCHON
	E ^m HUTCHINSON	JA ^s RUSSELL.
	SAM ^{ll} PARTRIDGE	ELISHA COOKE
	AND ^r BELCHER	JOHN PHILLIPS
	SAM SEWALL	PETER SERGEANT
	PENN TOWNSEND	JOSEPH LYNDE
Is ^a ADDINGTON	ELISHA HUTCHINSON	JOHN WALLEY
	NATHA ^l . BYFIELD	BARNABAS LOTHROP

Gov^r. WINTHROP.

[Superscribed]

"For her Ma^{ty} Service.

To the Hon^{ble} JOHN WINTHROP, Esq^r :

Governour of the Colony of Connecticott."

[Indorsed]

The Gentlemen of the Council at Boston their Acc^t of his Majestyes Death & the Proclamation of the Queen, June 1st 1702.

The following note, addressed to Cotton Mather, is probably from the Rev. Nicholas Noyes, of Salem. The verses, found upon the same sheet, are from the same pen as the brief note respecting the "Negro Servants."

The Rev. Nicholas Noyes to the Rev. Cotton Mather.

S^r — I have sent you an acco^t according to yo^r Desire of y^e number of ffamilies in w^{ch} are Negro Servants, they are about 27. &c.

N: N:

SALEM Aug: 15. 1706.

You plant like Paul, you Water like Apollos,
 You set fair Coppyes, happy he that follows.
 You bid fair for it, let Heaven make it doe;
 And by yo^r hands, wash the Æthiopian toe.
 Christs grace & blood applyed, makes white within,
 And clenseth from y^e Guilt & Stain of Sin.
 The resurrection whiten will the Skin;
 The great refiner & y^e blessed fuller,
 Will one day make y^e Saints all of a coler.
 And all be blacker then y^e Sons of Cham,
 That are not Whitned by y^e Spotless Lamb.

And they of all men only shall be free,
 Christ bought, & brought out of Captivity.
 The Slaves of Sin & Satan then shall stand
 Bound hand & foot, though here they did command.
 The pious Master & y^e pious Slave,
 The Liberty of Sons of God shall have.
 But these are riddles unto Mammons fooles,
 That use their Slaves as if they had no Soules;
 ffor want of saving theres their own lose will;
 If you shall make them Wise more Wonders still,
 New-Englands Thaumatorgos you shall be,
 And have y^e thanks, both of y^e bond and ffree.

To Mr C: M: in Boston.

These following nine "news-letters," or portions of a manuscript Journal of "Public Occurrences," addressed to Gov. Fitz John Winthrop of Connecticut, are interesting as having been written by John Campbell of Boston, subsequently the proprietor of "The Boston News-Letter," the earliest newspaper in the country, established the following year (1704):—

John Campbell to Governor Winthrop.

Boston April 12th 1708.

Last Week arrived a Vessell from ffyall and tells that about nine week's from this time Two Vessells arrived from Scotland and one from Corke in Ireland, that gave an Acco^t that the union between England and Scotland was concluded upon and said master from ffyall sayes he see it in publick prints.

Cap^t Smith In the Gospert ffrigett from Jamacia arrived here also Last Week, and by him are Informed of the union being Concluded upon, he came from Jamaica about midle or tenth of March.

Wee do apprehend that the union is only agreed upon by the Commissioners, which if true will be a great step Towards both parliam^{ts} Concluding it, being the Commissioners are some of the greatest men of both nations.

They Talk from Jamaica of the Spainards sueing for a peace, That about 20 Grandees were come to Portugale, to get the King of Portugale to Interceed with her maj^{ty} of England to appoint Plenipotentiary to mediati. Cap^t Lawrence is arrived at Rhoad Island & a

Bermudus Sloop, both Privateers, who In Comp^t with Cap^t Blue an other privateer, took a Spannish Ship of 8 guns, Loaden with Canary and Brandy, and other goods, bound for the Havanna, who had on board 12 families consisting of above 130 Soules. The Prisoners they put on shoare in N. Spain, all to about 7. The Three Consorts put 17 men an a Quarter master on board, Cap^t Blue attended her with his sloop or vessell. The Prize is not yet arrived. — The Prize said to Come from Spain, and touched at the Canary's.

Cap^t Southack with our Western fleet arrived yesterday.

Cap^t Delbridge will sayle for London In 20 days, Ten guns; & Cap^t Dows, lyke guns, In a moneth.

HONORABLE SIR

BOSTON, April 12th 1708.

I'm favoured with yo^r ho^m of the 9 Instant. — Came in too day about ii a cloacke & do dispatch him again at ffive, because should have no excuse to hinder his Coming In on Satturday, so have no tyme, either for selfe or man, to go to Mad^m Richards, but the Letter I sent thaire Two days after it's receipt.

On other Syde is what occurs, with the Inclosed print, and with humble service am S^r

Yo^r ho^m humble Serv^t

JN^o: CAMPBELL.

GO^d WINTHROP

[Superscribed]

To the Hono^{ble} JOHN WINTHROP Esq^r: Gov^r:
of Conecticut New-London

ffrank.

[Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop], Publick Occurrences & the adres to her Maj.
Aprill 12th 1708.

Boston April 27th 1708.

On the 20th Instant arrived a sloop from Antegua in 25 Dayes; one Loyd M^r., brings an acco^t that Coll^o Coddington with 3000 Islanders and about 2000 English souldiers Landed in Guardelupia, had Taken the Island all but the fort, having Lost about 200 men. by an Ambuscado of Negros; when this Sloop came away the Bloody flagg was hung up, and our men had gott 5 p^t of Ordinance playing upon it, and Every shott did Execution, and they were a going to have 15 p^t more to bear upon it, and the fourt could bear but 5 upon us, and was thought wee should Carry it in a day or Two at farthest. The Earle of Peterborough was daylie Exspected with a Squadron of men of warr and Land forces, in order to joyne the Island^m to attaque Martinico.

ffrom King Saile Janry 22^d; a Passenger went hence in the Orsell

frigett, a merch^tman, one Cap^t Thomas, Command^r, writts that on the 18th Instant 10 Leagues from Silley after a whole Dayes Chase the Count Tholous of S^t Maloes, 36 guns, 300 men, came up wth us to whom wee were forced to strike, having one man kill'd and an other wounded, and the Ship much Damaged. Her Majes Ship the Dover and Munk hearing the Guns and seeing the Smoak, made after it, and about 11 at Night recovered the Orsell frigett, and Next morning the Monk gott up wth the Privateer and gave him Two broad sydes, but Loosing his main top Gallant mast, and fore Top mast, it caused Monsr. to sing *Te Deum* or the song of Victory, but the successfull Dover manadged her selfe better, and about Two a Clocke in the after noon getts up with the Privateer and afer 3 hours Obstinate fighting and the Death of 40 men and 30 odd wounded (most of which ar since Dead) took her in whom wee were Prisoners. The Privateer was Brought in here this Night though never a mast standing, and 20 of the best of her guns being thrown overboard by Badd Weather the very night she was taken. The Dover Lost not one Drop of blood by him, Except one man that accidentally fell overboard, she came out of S^t Maloes but 6 Dayes before she took us; her burthen is between 400 & 500 Tuns & Reckoned the best man'd Privateer In France. She came out in Comp^a wth an other of 40 guns, to whom God send the same success too. The Dover had but 183 men, hardly so bigg as y^e Mons^r, only had 50 guns, though could use but 25 of y^m y^e wind blowing fresh. Ther was found on board The Privateer the journall of T. S. of Boston, with severall Letters for M^r Lillie from the Bay.

The Packett boat from Lisbone Came in here brings news that a Dutch man of warr hath Taken a french man of warr of 50 guns. The Lark Guiney man from Bbados In her Passage home meett 3 french Barkies, the Biggest about 3 or 400 Tun; A New Hagg boat with 16 french on board. The Lark had but 16 guns and 17 men and with the help of y^e french men brought her saif to Galloway.

ffryday the 23^d Instant, being the Queen's Coronation Day, His Excy Coll^o Dudley being attended by the Troop of Gaurds, came from Roxbury between 12 & one a Clocke, when all y^e guns were Discharged from the Castle Battery's, the man of warr, Gally, and ship in the Road, and after having Dined with the honoble Coll^o Povey our Liv^t Governour, with severall Gentlemen, came to the Town house and Drunck her Maje^s health, &c.

On Saturday the 24th Arrived one Kimball from ffyall tells us still of y^e Union being Concluded between England and Scotland and that the Portuguese have declaired warr against France and Spain.

The Prize at Rhoad Island is said to have on board 100 Pipes of Canary, 150 Pipes of Malmsy, 30 Caske of Brandy, some Almonds and Razons, what money, Plate or Silks they had was shared before any Condemnation.

Philadelphia, Aprill 13th They writt that on Saturday Last Arrived a Gentleman from Maryland, brings the following news, That 40 Sayle of West Countrey men were arrived in Maryland and Virginia about 7 Weeks Passage, two men of warr Conveyed them from Corke In Ireland. That the Portuguese had Declaired warr ag^t France and Spain. That the Princes of y^e Empire were marching 20000 men ag^t the D. of Bavaria.

That a peace was Like to be Concluded between the K. of Sweeden & the Muscovie.

That an Inter marriage was Like to be between the K. of Sweeden & the D. of Hanover's sister and the Duke of Hanover & the K of Sweeden's Sister.

That S^r Clowsly Shovell continues in possession of Vigo and the harbour.

That the London fleett for Virginia is not to sail till Latter end of June, under Convey of 4 men of Warr, and a fire ship.

The Galloon proved not so Rich in plate as was Exspected, but very Rich in other valuable goods, as Cocheneal, &c. one was not brock up supposed to be very rich.

That the Earle of Marlborough was surprized by a party of French going from his Army by water, gott cleir again, by means of a Pass (a gentleman in Comp^e had about him) which was Granted by the French Gene^l to his Brother, to go to some wells for his health; they took all the Plate and what Else the Earle had.

N. Yorke 19th Instant; arrived a sloop in 12 Dayes from Burmudus, that Go^d writts My Lord Cornbury, that the Earle of Petterborough was arrived at Antegua.

Cap^t Simmons will sail in 10 or 12 Dayes for London; that they have news of y^e union between the two Kingdomes from Philadelphia, by vessells to Maryland.

Boston; Cap^t Delbrige will sail within 3 weeks for London, Cap^t Dowse in about a month. Cap^t Gillam, Coram & Robertson about 2 months.

Boston May the 3^d 1708

By a Vessell from ffyall an Edingburgh Gazet of Decem^r 7: acquaints us, that y^e Commissioners for y^e union between the Two

Kingdomes having some Dayes agoe settled the Preliminary's of which this is one, that nothing shall be Registrated but what both Party's agree too, and nothing binding till approven by the Queen and the Respective Parliam^t, The Lord Keeper proposed on the part of y^e English that both nations might be united Under her Maj^e, her heirs and Successers, and under the same Limitations according to the Acts of Settlement, and his Grace the Duke of Queensbury proposed, on the part of y^e Scots, that both Nations be united in one Monarchy, and one Parliam^t, with a mutuall Communication of Trade and Priviledges, and since wee hear that the English Commissioners for y^e Union having agreed to the Proposals of the Scots Commissioners for uniting the Parliam^t of both nations, as far as shall be practiceable, were Yesternight to give their answer to the Scots Commissioners, for a mutuall Communication of Trade and Priviledges.

Cap^t Alden from Lisbone in 33 dayes arrived the 28. brings the following news in Gazet's, votes of Parliam^t, the Postman, and News Letters, viz^t

LOND^o Octo^r 10. the house of Commons granted her Maj^e for the Land forces for Anno 1703, 35,000 foott and Dragoons, 700 horse, and that a sum not Exceeding 70,973,, 18, 9. be allowed for the officers of y^e Ordinance.

That the Admirante of Casteell had formed a Designe to seize the K. of Spain.

LOND^o Octo^r 17. By Letters from St. Georges are acquainted that the Great Mogull has sent orders to Prohibit all trade by reason of y^e piracy's Committed on his Subjects. The Parliam^t of Scotland Is put of to the 10 of March.

LOND. No^r 10. The house of Commons in a grand Committee Voted £833,828: 19: 2, be Granted her Maj^e for maintaining 40,000 men that were to act in Conjunction with her allies for Anno 1703. The Commons Resolved that £51,843 be granted her Maj^e for the payment of y^e subsidies to her Majes Allies.

LOND^o No^r 17. The Prize Goods at Vigo are said to be worth 2 millions.

LOND^o Nov^r 19. Sir Clowsly Shovell Continues at Vigo wth 50 sail of men of warr.

LOND^o No^r 21. S^t George Rook made one of her Maje^s Councill.

LOND^o Novem^r 23^d Parris Letters from Madrid say that ther is a great Consternation in Spain and it is beleived some Councillours will be removed and great Jealousies are between them and Portugaile.

Letters from St Maloes, Rochell, and other places concerned in y^e West Indies and Newfoundland fishery say that the cheif traders are Intirely ruined and forced to abscond by reason their ships so Taken hardly one of 30 Escape'd.

LOND^o Nov^r 26: Letters from Holland say that 3 Regiments were ready to Embarke for the West Indies on board 12 men of warr. Letters from Lisbone say that the treaty of Allience between the Allies and the K. of Portugale is Concluded.

LON^d Dec^r 3^d Resolved that Pr George of Denmarke have £100,000. p^annum, In caise he survive her Maj^e, out of the Hereditary Excise and Post Office, wth her Maje's Pallaces of Kingsington and Winchester.

LOND^o Decem^r 31: Its said his Grace the D: of Hamilton is to be Created Earle of Maccle-feild in England. It's said the French have Taken the Lark from N. Yorke, and an other ship from Pennsylvania.

LOND^o Janry 2^d The Carteell for Ex^a of Prisoners between her Maje and ff. K. has been in agitation all this Week between the Commissioners appointed, and the Count De Murley, Command^r of a french frigett Taken neir Portsmouth err wee went ag^t Caddis, is now Prisoner in Scotland yard, but he also cutly Refuses to Agree to Exchange the ff. Protestant slaves on board the Gally's, man for man, for the 7000 seamen Taken since the Warr, and Cant have the Confidence to writt his Master the K. Such Proposals, being an absolute Monarch. It's Prescribing him Rules how to Rule his own subjects. Wee hear the Carteell for Landmen is agreed on.

St. JAMES, Jan^y 4: her Maje has been pleased to Constitute the R^t hono^{ble} Jn^o How, Esq^r Receiver and Paymaster Generall of Gaurds and Garrison of the Chelsea Hospitall.

LOND^o Janry 4. Parris. The River of Po overflowed it's Bankes Drowned a great Tract of land, and 41 Vilidges. from Lyons they Confirme the Insurrection of y^e Cevennes, that above 2000 men whom Misery and Persecution have made desperate committ great Dissorders, have burnt 20 Churches.

LOND^o Jan'y 7: Parris Letters say the Male Contents In france have Defeated 3000 men that were sent again them, killed 1500 upon the spott, Took 500 Prisoners, that the Inhabitants of Languedock and Province do all in Generall murmer at the heavy Taxes.

The E: of March made Gov^r of Edingburgh Castle in y^e Room of y^e Earle of Livingston, and St George Browne, Deputy Governour, The L^d Blantrie, Governour of Dumbrition Castle.

The Duke of Marborough Designs for Holland again the middle next month.

S^t George Rook to treasurer of y^e Navy.

LONDON, Jan'y 12. All things in a distracted Condition In Poland.

LOND^o Jan'y 14. The E. of Petterborough will sail for Jamaica In a few Dayes.

LOND^o Jan'y 16. The squadron for Portugall Consists of 18 English and 12 Dutch men of warr, and to Carry 10,000 men Land forces, 7000 English and 3000 Dutch.

LOND^o Jan'y 19. Admir^l Hobson Commands the Squadron for Portugall, the D: of Schomberg the Land forces, and the Lord Portmor his Liv: Generall. The Protestants In Armes In France sent to States of Holland for Remittances of money to Enable them to Prosecute their Designes.

LOND^o Jan'y 28: Wee hear the Queen's Part of y^e Galloones * * *

Boston, May 17th 1708.

Last week arrived here a sloop from Jamaica, whereby are Informed, Admirall Whetston with his Squadron are bound hither, ffor some action again our Adversarys, to the Northward of us.

Last week also arrived Capt Ransfoord from Barbados, and by Letters of the 13th April, Said, Wee have taken Guardelup all but a fort, w^{ch} wee Intend to Scale in a few days. Wee have Lost by report above 500 men already:—others Letters Say They daylie expect a Squadron of men of warr, with 8000 men, to Assist Generall Coddingtoū.

Last week also arrived here Capt Jarvies ffrom Nevis, about 20 days passage, Says wee have Lost at Guardelup neir 700 men. Wee have taken all, both fort and Castle, excepting one ffort In the Top of a mountain, that there is no passage to it, but over a bridge, and that there is no way to conquer the enemy, but by Starving them. It's said the Generall has gone to Bbados for more men, and If do not send'm will Dissert the place, others Say he is resolved to conquer them, err Leaue it. No Quarter is given on either Syde. The ffrrench first begun it, ffor one of our men was found mangl'd with this Inscription upon his breast, No Quarter for a Criolean. Some say our men of warr, were of kin to Admirall Benbowes Cap^t, were afraid. If they shot at the fforts, the fforts would Shoott at them again & Spoyle their Masts, and saying one of their Masts was worth the whole Island, and said seuerall recruits were brought the Adversary from Martinico, by the negligence of the Commador.

They say That Generall Coddington is to be Generallissimo of all her Majes forces in the West Indies.

from Philadel: by a Letter from Antegua of April 9th They writ: General Coddington with about 3500 men Landed on Guardilup about a month past & forced the ffrench out of their Trenches, s^d to be much stronger then any In fflanders, batter'd their fforts & castle down, upon w^{ch} they sprung mines, thinking our army would storme (and so blew them up) but was prevented by a dissenter.

They have had latlie a supply of 600 men from Martinico, 500 of w^{ch} were planters forced off, who decline fighting for that reason.

The forces so long expected under the Command of the E. of Peterborough, w^{ch} consists of 7000 men, were left to the Eastwards of Madera's, are to be commanded by our Generall, who is Capt Grall of all her Majes fforces In America.

N. YORKE, May 10th On the 5th arrived here Capt Blackston ffrom Plimouth the 12 March, in Comp^a with the west India ffeett, consisting of about 30 Sayle, under convoy of the Blackwall and Montague commanded by Vice Admirall Graydon, in Comp^a whereof S^r Beuill Greenvil, Go^r of Barbados, and 3000 Land fforces, under Command of Brigadeer.

Capt Blackston paired with them ist April, by whom wee have advise of an Embargo In Engld, And great preparations were making for a vigorous prosecution of the warr by sea and land.

That the Vnion between the Two Kingdoms was not concluded.

Generall Coddington made Go. of Jamaica, Colo W^m Seymour Go^r of Marryland.

That her Maj^e In Council has reversed the sentence ag Colo Bayard & Alderman Hutchins for High Treason.

The proceedings of The L^d Cornburry here, are well approved by her Maje & Council, & the L^{ds} of Trade, and all Acts of Assembly made here Dureing the Last administration annull'd and declared void.

My L^d Cornburry Expects a man of warr daylie with his Commissions.

The Council of Nova Cesarea or New Jearsy are

EDWARD HIMLOCK	SAMUELL LEONARD	GEORGE DEACON
LEWIS MORRIS	ANDREW BOWNE	SAM ^{LL} WALKER
SAM ^{LL} JENNINGS	THO ^S REUELL	DAN LEEDS
FRANCIS DAVENPORT	W ^m PINHORNE	W ^m SANDFORD
ROBERT QUARRY.		

Capt Carter In a brig^a & Capt Leventhorp In a ship both went hence Last fall for London, cast away neir Lands end, the men Saved, most of the goods Lost.

The Virg^a fleett was to Sayle In April.

The Warr between the Sweed & the Pole still Continues.

It's daylie expected the Portuguese will declaire for the Confederates.

The Cittidale of Leidge & Garrison of Fraerback were taken this winter by storme.

The E. of Peterborough goes not for the West Indies.

A sloop from Antegua arrived here the 7th Instant brings the same Acco^t as is from Phila^d.

Cap^t Delbridge sails for London this Week, & Cap^t Travise in the Ship Lyon that Cap^t Dowse was to Goe in, Sails in a fourtnight at farthest.

Cap^t Robertson and Coram about 6 Weeks and Cap^t Everton in about 2 Month's. The french and some Indies took 2 men of ours Prisoners, In Sacho River, and kill'd one man, were Affraid it may occasion a Ruptur betweeen us and the Indians.

[Superscribed]

To The Hon^{ble} John Winthrop Esq^r

Go^r of her Majes Colony of Connecticut

New London.

franke

• [Indorsed by Gov. Fitz John Winthrop]

Publick occurrences, May 17th 1703.

Boston June 1st 1703

On the 25th of Last month Dyed M^r Sam^l Shrimpton and was Burried the 28.

The 26th was our annuall Election Day of her Majes Council for this Colony, wheron sever^{ll} members of Council in coaches, and sever^{ll} Gentlemen on horse Back, wth the Troop of Gaurds went, about Eight a Clocke in the morning, to Roxbury to attend his Excell^r to towne, who had a splendid Entertainment for them. Roxbury Troop before his Excell^r, the members of Council and other Gentlemen and the Troop of Guards following; and in the Towne, as is usuall, Two foott Comp^{es} Guarded them to the town house about Eleven a Clocke, where they staid a short space and were Conducted to the Meeting house, and heard a sermon preached by the Rev^d M^r Soloman Stoddard, on these Words, Honour thy father and mother, &c. After

Sermon his Excell^y & Council, Magistrates & Mini^{rs} and field Officers had a splendid Dinner, and about four a Clocke went to the Town house, in ord^r to Choose the Ensuing years Council, who are

COLL ^o ELISHA HUTCHINSON . . . 90	} Esq ^r	COLL ^o JN ^o THATCHER 64	} Esq ^r
CAPT SAM ^{ll} SEWALL . . . 89		JOSEPH LYNDE . . . 64	
COLL ^o JN ^o PHILLIPS . . . 87		SAM ^{ll} PARTRIDGE . . 57	
CAPT JON ^a CORWIN . . . 87		ELIAKIM HUTCHINSON 57	
COLL ^o JN ^o FOSTER . . . 87		COLL ^o JN ^o HATHORNE 49	
MAJ ^s GENERALL WINTHROPE 85		COLL ^o DANIEL PEARCE 49	
COLL ^o PEN TOWNSEND . . . 86		BENJ ^a BROWNE . . . 41	
CAPT ANDREW BELCHER . . . 86		SAM ^{ll} HAYMAN . . . 37	
JAMES RUSSELL 84		EDWARD BROMFIELD 34	
COLL ^o JN ^o HIGGINSON . . . 83		CAPT SAM ^{ll} LEGG	
ISAAC ADDINGTON, Secr: . . 82		SAMUELL APPLETON	
MAJ ^s W ^m BROWNE 82		NATH ^{ll} PAINE	
JOSEPH HAMMOND 72		JOSIAH WINSLOW	
MAJ ^s JOHN WALLY 69		MAJ ^s HUNT	

Maj^r Converse is Chosen Speaker of the house of Representatives.

Our Eastern Indians came into our Garrisons and acquitted themselves from killing the English man wrote you of before, & sayes it was done by some French and french Indians that Came from Canada, and Wishes they had mett them, would have seized them.

Wee ar Informed severall wayes of a Descent the french and Canada Indians Intends to make upon some of ours, or the Neighbouring Colony frontiers, upon w^{ch} orders are taken to Watch our frontier Townes again any Assault.

[Superscribed]

To The Hon^{ble} JOHN WINTHROP Esq^r

Gov^r of Connecticut

New London

franke

[Indorsed by Fitz John Winthrop]

Publick Occurrences, June 1st 1703.

Boston June 7th 1703

On the 2^d Instant arrived here Cap^t Breed from Antegua, about four Week's passage, & acquaints us that Gener^l Coddington had left Guardeloop and gone to Nevis, by reason of a Disstemper that had Seized upon him which had almost made him blind. He left the Comm^d of the Army wth Coll^o Hamilton, several Negro Disserters come over to us daylie, who say the French are in great want of provisions.

They Dailey Expected the Landing of Succours from England.

They Confirm the French's having 600 men from Martinico thro' the Invigilancy or neglect of our frigetts.

On the 3^d Instant arrived here Cap^t Welsh from Antegua came out 3 dayes before the other, and also acquaints us of Cap^t Coffin and one Carry's, being Taken into Martinico whom wee fear'd was lost.

Cap^t Southack came in yesterday from the Eastward from Treating wth the Indians and Restoring them what was taken from them by Cap^t Chadwell & his men.

On the 4th Instant His Excell^y, the Hono^{ble} Council and Representatives, went to the Castle to View the Same, and the ffortifications, in order to fforward what is wanting.

On y^e 5th from Piscataqua acquainted of a Ketches arrivall thair from Barbados, brings no news only that Gov^r not yet arrived, & no Privateers heard of, of a long time, and y^t ther was no truth in a privateers being on our coast, wth report was occasioned by a sloop from Virginia, Sabbath Last, arrived here, who was willing to speake to three of our sloops bound hence for Boston, who the master sayes were affraid of and run ashoar about Capepann, seeing him stand towards them.

From Rhoad Island ther was a small Vessell came in Last Week between point Judeth and Block Island, Next Day they heard some say 20, some a 27 guns, as if it were at Block Island. It's feared the Brig^d is a French Privateer and that the ship was one of Lawrence's prizes bought by M^r Mallinson bound for Barbados.

Boston ffor London, The ship Amitie 150 Tuns, 14 guns, men answerable, Thom^s Steele Commd.

The ship Eliz^a 100 Tuns, David Robertson, Command^r

The Agustus Gally, 140 Tuns, 12 guns, Cap^t W^m Everton, Command^r

The ship Resignation 240 Tuns, 20 Guns, Thom^s Coram, Command^r will all sail in about 2 months.

Cap^t Travise will sail next Week for London.

ffor Oporto, the Ketch Exchange, 40 Tuns, James Cally, Command^r.

ffor Barbados, The ship Hannah, 100 Tuns, 4 guns, John Bennett, Command^r

His Excell^y goes for his Govern^t of New hampshire on Wednesday next, and from Thence to Cascobay, in ord^r to treat wth the Indians, Two Thirds wherof are for peace and one Third for warr.

Boston June 7th 1703.

HON^{ble} SIR,—I'm favour'd with yo^r of 3^d Curr^t Congratulat

your ho^r Saife arrival home and on other syde is what occurs, and an
ans^r to your demands from

S^r Yo^r Ho^rs most Humble Serv^t

JN^o: CAMPBELL

[Superscribed]

To The Hon^{ble} JOHN WINTHROP Esq^r

Gov^r of Connecticut

N London

ffranke.

[Indorsed]

Publick Occurrences, June 7th 1703.

Boston July 12th 1703

ffrom N Yorke July 5: On the 29th June Last arrivèd here Cap^t
Bassett from England; they sailed from Plimoth the 2^d May Last in a
fleett of about 170 sayle, und^r Convey of 7 men of warr, one part of
wth fleett were for the Streights, wth 3 men of warr, another fleett for
the West Indies, wth 2 men of warr, and the rest, being about 70 sail,
for Virginia und^r Convey of the Guenssey and Oxford frigets, in the
1st of wth comes Cap^t Mathews, M^r Byerly, Receiver Gener^l of this
province, and M^r Clarke our Secretary, who brings wth them my L^d
Cornbury's Commissions for New Jearsy &c.

Wee hear one M^r Griffith is Attorney Generall of New Jersy, and
is in the Oxford, some Letters say M^r Bass is secretary of that Prov-
ince, others the Contrary, some Affirme he is in the fleett coming over,
wth is Contradicted by others.

Wee hear a Gent^l of very great Learning and Knowledge in the
Law is judge of the Admiralty of Pensilvania and other places, but wee
know not yet his name.

Our Grand fleett were at Spitthead ready to putt to sea, consisting
of about 130 sail.

Thirty great ships, most 3^d Rates, were at Plimoth, commanded by
S^r Clously Shovell, outward bound, but where was not publick. Each
ship had on board 2 Comp^{ts} of Marines and sundry stores of warr and
their Quarters hung wth Wheels & Carriages, it was Generally be-
lieved they were bound for the Streights.

The Protestants in the Sevennes in france are augmented to a great
number, some say 12000, and have Defeated severall partys sent to
suppress them, and give that Crown very great Diversion, tis said their
cheif has been a Marshall of france.

That great preperations are making In Italy and flanders for this
Summers action.

That the Cartile is settled between England & france a few Dayes

before they sailed; the Gazette wth gives that Information says that at the time Thereof there were English prisoners in france 2000 & odd, french prisoners in England 4000 & odd, but the termes of the Cartile was not there mentioned.

That the Porteguisse had not yet Declaired warr, but that it was daylie Expected.

That as yet there was no Mediation between the Sweede and Pole.

That the D: of Maulborough and Some other Lords were Enstall'd Knights of the Garter.

five ships for Boston sailed in Comp^t wth this fleett, who I suppose are arived, by whom you will have a better Information.

Last Week arrived Cap^t Coward from Coraso, brings no news.

On the 2^d Instant Arrived a Sloop from Antegua in 17 Dayes, and advises that Admir^l Graydon wth the forces touched at Guardeloup and finding our men were retired he stood on his Course, just Called at Antegua and is gone for Jamaica.

That Gener^l Coddington is Still very ill at Antegua.

That a Man of warr from Antegua on her cruise mett 2 french privateers, a Barque and a Sloop, The Barque she Took wth 60 men, and the Sloop she Chaced upon a Reeve and Battered her all to peices, not having Left above 10 men alive. The Sloop was the [blank] wth formerly belonged to Philadelphia, the Cap^t still in the West Indies as is said.

The Pensilvania post is come in and brings no news yet of the Arrivall of the Virginia fleett.

BOSTON, July 12th Last Week arrived here Cap^t Charnock from Antegua, Porter from Mounseratt, & Cap^t Nath^l Green from Bbados brings nothing new.

Cap^t Steel, Everton, and Rob[er]tson will sail for London in about 20 Dayes.

Two Indians and an interpreter are co[me] hither from the Eastward of Casco bay acquaints of a French man of warr at Mont Dessart neir to Nova Scotia, who fires a gun Evening and Morning.

The Govern^t has sent out a man of warr to spy what this french man is.

Wee have Severall Rumers of guns heard firing off of Cape Ann on ffryday and Satturday Last, as yet hear nothing what it is.

Last Week a woman kill'd at Piscataqua wth the Thunder.
[Superscribed]

"For the Hono^{ble} JOHN WINTHROPES Esq^r
Governour of Connetts Colony,
franke. New London."

To N London

Boston Sept^r 20th 1703.

On thursday Last returned our flag of truce from Port Royall, who informed us that there is arrived thair from France a man of warr of 46 guns, had some red & blue Coats on board, and also two march^t men or mast men of Considerable force, was out from France about six weeks.

The Gov^r of Port Royall told our men that he had 500 souldiers come; which wee do Judge to be a Comp^a of 50 or 60 men.

They also told our men that our mast fleet was taken and 17 of our men of warr; and that their King had Cutt of 500 Hugonits that had rose up in rebellion: all which wee give no Credit to; but the Contrary, that wee have taken so many of their men of warr and that the Hugonits are strong to the number of 50 thousand.

On fryday arrived here Cap^t Johnson In a brigantin from Antegua about a mounth Passage, brings no news.

ffrom R^d Island, The 17, aquainted That that morning arrived thaire a privateer sloop from Providence belonging to Curraso, who had but 18 men, And brought In with him a Spanish Ship of 7 guns 56 men which he Tooke off of Campechia Bay, loaden with Cocco, & hes on board 5 thousand peices of eight, about 130 Tuns, fought him 3 glasses and never a man killed.

He also brings the Tydings of Providence being taken on the 20th July by ffrench & Spainairds, A barque Alongo, A Brig^a, & a sloop; the people were surprised in the night, there being but 3 men in the ffort, he hes brought with him hither a great many of the Inhabitants, about 40 or 50, of whom Cap^t Jn^o Edwards is one, who lost his sloop.

The ffrench and Spainairds carryed away 9 vessells that Lay in the harbour, and the Gov^r.

Cap^t Wodsworth from Whitehauen and Ireland is just arrived about [blank] weeks passage, say our grand fleett was sayled for the streights and Portagall.

That the malecontents in France grow stronger and stronger, haue killed 2000 of the Kings reguler Troops, & latlie they tooke a great bootty of priuisions going to the Kings army. Mons^r Mountreuell sent word to the King that the souldiers declined fighting them in regard there was no plunder to be had, and that they gaue no Quarter. Seue-rall of the Kings offecers were cutt of, and they sent Mons^r Mon-treuell word; they would serue all that sett into there hand with the Lyke Treatment, since their people were so serued by the French Troops.

That the D: of Savoy was entred into the grand alli[a]nce.

HON^{BLE} SIR.BOSTON Sept^r 20th 1703

On other Syde is what occurs, as I send your ho^r Weekly.

And I'm Informed your generall Court is to sit at Newhaven next month, and I must represent to your ho^r & Assembly The state of the post office, as I haue done to this Gov^{ty} and Newhampshire, In order to have some encouragement for the support of it, as they have done: else of necessity it must drop. I dowbt not in the Least of your hon^{rs} Concurrence therein; and with humble service, am

S^r, your ho^{rs} most Humble Serv^t JN^o: CAMPBELL.

[Superscribed]

To The Hon^{ble} JOHN WINTHROP Esq^rGov^r of Connecticut,

ffranck.

N London.

To GOV^r WINTHROP.BOSTON Octo^r 1703

On the 13 Last arrived Cap^t ffoster and Roisse from London, being other Two of the ships came from Corke in Ireland last.

On the 14th arrived Cap^t Holberton from Lond^o, an other of the ships came last from Corke in Ireland wth our mast fleett and Cap^t Pitts from Jamaica.

There arrived Cap^t Parsons said Day at Marblehead from Ab-some[?].

And Cap^t Blankett in five Weeks from Engl^d, who mett 3 Privateers 100 Leagues to the Westward of Lands End, one of them gave him chase and he bore up to him wherupon he withdrew: The other Two bore down upon him, and upon that he showed them a pair of heells, she is a ship of 30 guns.

They acquaint us, Especially, the last of London, being bound hither was taken off of the bancks of Newfoundland, and Carried into S^t Malloes, who was sold thair for Twenty Hundred pounds, who was Esteemed to be worth fourteen or fifteen Thousand pounds.

They acquaint us of severall ships Taken, Especially Travise, that sailed hence after Cap^t Delbridge.

A Lond^o Gazet of July 26 says that by Letters from Cologne, The Elector of Bavaria was killed at Tiroll by a muskett shott as he was Endeavourg to force a pass, wherof they Expected a Confirmation.

A Gazet of July 29 Say that of Late one Action happened between the Kings forces and the Camisars, wherin the former were worsted. That the Male Contents took the oppertunity of severall boates comeing Down the Rossne upon the occasion of a fair, to send one loaden wth Armes and Ammunition to the vivariz, where the Inhabitants are ready

to Rise and joyne them. The Mal Contents in the Cevennes being intirely masters of the open Country, and that the Marishall Montrevell has left the Command of the French forces to Mes^r Degrandval and Tesse and is gone to Catalonia.

The Duke of Vendosme sent a Detachmen of 12000 men to the Kingdome of Naples where there were apprehensions of an Insurr[ection] in favours of the house of Austria.

Aug^t 30th The D. of Scomberg will be installed this Week Knight of the most noble order of the Garter.

The Land forces for Portugall Desig[ne] to Embark in a fortnight, severall persons of Quall[ity] Intends to serve as voluntiers in that Expedition.

The Arch Duke of Austria was Expected on the coast of England the midle of Sep[tember, &] is to be proclaimed King of Spain.

Severall Disserters come over Dailey from the french to the Imperiall Camp's and say that the french Camp is very Sickly.

There has been severall skirmishes between the french and imperiall Army, wherin the former has lost some thousands of men at a time.

On the 15th arrived Cap^t Lewis from Sirranam and Cap^t Vantman and Holland from Jamaica.

By a print of July 81 from Edinburgh, acquainted that the parliam^t had agreed y^t after the Death of her Maje, and of the heirs of her body, the parliam^t and privie Council shall govern the nation till a Successor be agreed on, and that it shall be high treason to Offer the Coronation oath to any but such as shall be nominated and Declared by the parliam^t.

Cap^t Plankett says that Portugale had Declared warr ag^t France and Spain.

Cap^t John Grasilier sails for Londⁿ next Week.

ffrom N. Yorke the 12th Curr^t, aquainted that the Indians proposed to his Excell^t the L^d Cornbury to make peace with y^e French of Canada — which his Lo^p would not admitt of, & its beleived they are [on] both sydes, & receive presents from both, neither French nor their Indians have been in them Quarters since the warr, nor any acts of hostility Committed be neither, and no truth said to be in the report from Harford. Some people in Conneticut seized two or three of Albany river Indians and ill treated them, and had likelie have brought all the six nations upon them selues, had not my L^d Cornbury's seasonable arrivall at albany prevented it.

They writt of the violent Storme wee had on fryday was seventh,

carried out of the Road 22 Vessells and Wood boates, 14 of them trading Vessells, beyond sea, some Drove one way and some another, and great Damage Done in Divers sellars, the Loss will be some thousands of pounds.

The Assembly Sitt's at N. Yorke.

[Superscribed]

To The Hon^{ble} JOHN WINTHROP, Esq^r: Go^r: of Connecticut,
to be forwarded by the post If gone from N London.
ffranck — J: C.

The following is a Rescript from Queen Anne, disallowing an Act of the Colony of Connecticut, entitled “ Hereticks.”

A Rescript from Queen Anne to the Colony of Connecticut.

[L. S.]

At the Court at Kensington,

the 11th day of October, 1705

Present

THE QUEENS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

HIS ROY ^{ty} HIGH ^{ness} PRINCE }	EARL OF RANELAGH
GEORGE OF DENMARK }	M ^r BOYLE.
L ^d ARCH: B ^p OF CANTERBURY	M ^r SEC ^{ry} HEDGES.
LORD KEEPER	M ^r SEC ^{ry} HARLEY.
LORD TREASURER	L ^d CH: JUS: HOLT.
LORD PRESIDENT	L ^d CH: JUS: TREVOR.
DUKE OF SOMERSETT	M ^r VERNON.
DUKE OF ORMOND	M ^r EARLE.

A REPRESENTATION from the Lords Comission^{rs} of Trade and Plantations, being this day read at the Board, Upon an Act past in Her Majestys Colony of Connecticutt, Entitul'd only HERETICKS; Whereby it is Enacted, That all who shall Entertain any Quakers, Ranters, Adamites, and other Hereticks, are made lyable to the Penalty of Five pounds, and Five pounds p^r week for every Towne that shall so entertain them, That all Quakers shall be Committed to Prison or be sent out of the Colony, That whoever shall hold unnecessary Discourse with Quakers, shall forfeit Twenty Shillings; That whoever shall keep any Quakers Books (the Governor, Magistrates, and Elders Excepted) shall forfeit Tenn Shillings, and that all such Books be suppress, That no Master of any Vessell do land any Quakers without Carrying of

them away again under the Penalty of Twenty Pounds; and the said Lords Commission^r humbly Offering, That the said Act be Repealed, by her Majesty, it being Contrary to the Liberty of Conscience Indulged to Disenters, by the Laws of England, as likewise to the Charter Granted to that Colony: Her Majesty with the advice of her Privy Councill, is pleased to Declare her Disallowance, and Disapprobation of the said Act, and pursuant to Her Majesty's Royall Pleasure thereupon, the said Act passed in Her Majesty's Colony of Connecticut in New England, Entitled HERETICKS, is hereby Repeald, and Declared Null and Void, and of none Effect.

JOHN POVEY.

[Indorsed]

Her Majestyes or[der] in Council respecting a Law made in the Collony of Conecticot against Hereticks Oct: 11th 1706.
under Cover from Gov^r Dudley, Aug. 26th 1706.

The following papers, relating to Harvard College, include the Latin speech of Governor Dudley, at the instalment of John Leverett as President of Harvard College, on the 14th of January, 1707-8; a contemporary translation of that speech into English; the Latin speech of President Leverett in reply; and the Latin form used in the admission of a Fellow. For an interesting account of the installation of Leverett, see extracts from Judge Sewall's Diary, in Quincy's "History of Harvard University," vol. i. p. 493.

Speech of Governor Dudley at the Installation of John Leverett as President of Harvard College.

Post Mortem Rev^{di} Dom^{us} Willard nuper huj^{us} Societatis Præsidis Eximij maximèque Assidui Debitâ cum Observantiâ mihi notificârunt Socij, Se Liberrimè Te (Rev^{di} Dom^{us} L.) Principalem et Præsidem Successurum eligisse.

Electionem protinùs Generosis Regiæ Majestatis Concilii Membris Comunicavi, Qui plibenter Assensum Suum dederunt.

Exindè hujus Provinciæ Delegati in Curia Magna et Generali, Minervalia, et in hoc Temporis Articulo Liberalia quamvis non Idonea tibi concederunt Stipendia.

Comuni Assensu & Suffragio Presbyterorum Regionum Circumjacentium, certo certius mihi redditur, quod tuum Moderamen et Cura hujus Societatis forent Gratissimæ, deinde maximâ Spe Sumus Omnes impleti, vestro Sedulo Regimine et Ductu, hancce Academiam tam divinâ quàm humanâ Literaturâ, Ligeantiâ et Religione itâ florituram ut Nobis et Vicinis Provinciis Sacræ Majestatis Subditis Comuni beneficio fuerit.

Constituimus igitur & Ordinamus ut in te Religiosè Suscipias Curam et Institutionem Omnium et Singulorum Studentium et Servorum hujus Societatis Secundum Singulas Methodos, ac Leges Salutares Constitutas ac Constituendas, ad Sacram Religionem, Literaturam et bonos mores promovendos, quantum in te Situm est.

Et ut semper reddas Debitam fidelitatem Dom^o Reginæ ac Obedientiam Legibus.

Donamus te Quoque potestatibus, jurisdictionibus, proprietatibus et Privilegijs Academicis in eadem amplitudine, quâ Antecessores tui Collegij Harvardini Præsides unquam Antiquitûs donati fuerunt; Tibique tradimus hos Libros, Chartas, atque Claves dictarum Potestatum, jurisdictionum, proprietatum et Privilegiorum Insignia ac Testimonia.

Quod ad nos ulteriùs Spectat, pollicemur tibi non defuturos esse Patrocinio, Concilio, et quibuscunque tuum promoveamus Emolumentum.

Deum Opt. Max. Administrationi Vestræ felices dare Exitus in Sui Gloriam, Regiæ Majestatis honorem, Omnium bonorum Comòdum, et tui-ipsius Solamen Sempeternum humillimè omnes Apprecamur.

[Indorsed]

"Copy of the Record about the President."

The foregoing Speech in English.

Since the Death of the Rever^d M^r Willard, the Late worthy and most Diligent President of this Society, I have been advised by the Fellows that they have Chosen you (Rever^d S^r) to Succeed as a Master and President here.

Which I have communicated to the Gentlemen of Her Maj^{ty}'s Council, who have freely agreed thereto,

And the Representatives in Gen^l's Assembly have thereupon voted you a Competent Salary as the Difficulty of the Times will permit.

I am Sensible by the Application and Common Suffrage of the Ministers in Generall thro' the Countrey, that your Govern^t and

Service will be most acceptable to them, And we all conceive great hopes that this Colledge by your Good Govern^t & Conduct shall long flourish in Good Learning, Loyalty and Religion, for the Benefit of all Her Majesty's Good Subjects in This and the Neighbour Provinces.

We therefore Direct, That you religiously take upon you the Govern^t and Instruction of the Schollars and Servants of this Society according to the Severall Methods, and Laws that have been or shall be made, for the Advancem^t of Religion, Learning, and Good manners, As much as in you Lies,

Bearing allways Faith and Loyalty to Her Maj^{ty}, and Obedience to the Laws.

We Likewise as much as in us Lies, Give you the Academic Powers, Jurisdiction, Propertys, and Priviledges, as they were enjoy'd, by your Predecessors, the Presidents of Harv: Colledge, And we Comitt to you These Books, Papers, and Keyes, The Signs and Testimonys of the aforesaid Powers, Jurisdictions, Propertys & Priviledges.

What further Concerns us, we Assure you, you shall not want our Support and Advice, In all things wherein we may be Serviceable to you.

And Let God grant that your Administration may have the happy Success we all pray for, for his own Glory, the Hon^r of Her Maj^{ty}, the Benefit of all Good men, and your own Everlasting Comfort.

[Indorsed]

"Speech to the Presid^t."

Speech of President Leverett.

Illustrissime Dom^o Dom^o Gubernator!

Honorem Amplissimum ab Excellentia Vestra Ore Vultuque in me radiantem sentit tota hæc Corona Celeberrima, quem et Egometipse p^resentio gratissimæque Mente recolo.

Verum enimverò Honos, hicce Honos est et Onus gravissimum, cui me omninò imparem facilè confiteor.

Acie et ordine terribili in me imbellem atque inermem militant Res et rationes Præsidis Officij difficillimæ, Vires nostræque Facultates Exiguæ, imò nullæ, Tempora Æstuantia, et Ærumnosa, periculôque plena, Multorum Suspitiones, Omnium Observatio Stricta et Expectatio elata, Denique et Super omnia Præsidium decessorum Virtutum Omnigenarum Herôicarum Phalanges.

Hisce Temporibus Academia Administrationem, Præsidisque mu-

nus, Opus et Onus imane quantum Suscipiam vel Suscipere Audeam Imperitus et imparatus Ego?

Quis hisce rebus tot tantisque difficultatibus involutis Sufficiens? Quis Ego? Certo nullus, imò Apostolicâ veritate Nihil.

En quid agam! quove me Vertam! inter Saxū Sacrumque Volvo. Sed Jacta est Alea.

Manu Mortalium fata determinante protrusus in gurgite Vasto, hujusce Astri Gyratione nullo renitente brachio abreptus, in illustre Academiæ Vortice totus absorbeor.

Unica Spes restat in Clementiâ et Misericordiâ Divinâ quæ Sola mihi Succurrit, animumque Laborantem Sublevat, atque in isthoc, quantumcunque sit, munere obeundo, instructum me atque fidelem reddere potest; Ad quam impetrandam Omnium præsertim horum Vatum Venerabilium Intercessionibus et precibus opus est, quas, ut Semper Cœlos ascendant Thronumque Altissimi Jesu invadant et Benedictionem Divinam reportent, à Vobis, Honoratissimi Reverendissimique Patres, Fratres, Supplex peto et in ppetuum rogabo.

[Indorsed]

"Mr Leverett's."

Form used in admitting a Fellow.

Soc^e Admittend^e

1. Præbebis Omnimodam Debitam reverentiam Honorandis Magistratib^{us} ac reverendis Presbyteris & Præsidi, Collegij Inspectoribus.

2. Religiosè in te Suscipies curam dum hic Comoraberis Observandi Singulas Salutares Leges, Statuta & Privilegia hujus Societatis, quantum in te Situm est; atque etiam ut Observerentur ab Omnib^{us} huj^{us} Collegii membris in Singulo uniuscujusque munere.

3. Omnes & Singulos Studentes qui Tutelæ tuæ comittuntur, aut in posterum Comittendi Sunt, ut pmoveas in omni tam Divinâ quam humanâ Literaturâ p Suo cuj^{us}que captu, atque ut moribus honestè ac inculpatè se gerant, Sumopere curabis.

4. Sedulò pspicies nequid Detrimenti Collegium capiat, quantum in te Situm est, Sive in ejus sumptibus, Sive in Ædificio, Structurâ, fundis, pventibus, cæterisque omnibus quæ nunc ad Collegium ptinent, aut dum hic egeris ptinere possint.

Quod ad nos Collegij Inspectores spectat, pollicemur nos tibi non defuturos esse, quib^{us}cunque tua intererit; Imò verò te Confirmabimus autoritate ac potestate nostrâ in omnibus tuis Legitimis administra-

tionib' contra quoscunque Contumaces. Et pro Collegij facultatib' erogabimus tibi idonea Stipendia quæ Sufficiant ad victū & amictum & Literaturā tuam pmovendam.

[Indorsed]

Copy of the Record.

Among the papers presented by the President at this time, besides those printed above, was one, labelled, "Propositions made by the Five Nations of Indians at Albany, 1688," which is printed in "Public Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York," iii., 557; also, another paper of some length, labelled, "Proceedings about the Lands at Narraganset," April 2, 1672; and a third, relating to the "difference between the Colony of Connecticut and the Mohegan Indians," dated "14th of February, 1705."

APPENDIX TO PAPER ON MAJOR-GENERAL SULLIVAN.

Address of Officers of the Canada Army.

[Referred to on p. 886.]

WE the field officers of the several regiments composing the army of the United Colonies in the northern department, having been informed of your Honors intended departure from hence, esteem it would be unpardonable in us to forego this opportunity of rendering the homage due to him, who, upon the late trying occasion, has comforted, supported, and protected the shattered remains of a debilitated army, and with unwearied care, watchfulness, and attention, has landed the public stores of every kind, without the least diminution, safe at this place. It is to you, Sir, the public are indebted for the preservation of their property in Canada. It is to you we owe our safety thus far. Your humanity will call forth the silent tear and grateful ejaculation of the sick; your universal impartiality will force the applause of the wearied soldier. Permit us then, worthy Sir, to take our leave, wishing you every happiness and success your most sanguine inclinations can suggest, or our most fervent prayers procure.

[Signed by] John Moore, Joseph Celty, Enoch Poor, Matthew Ogden, Nathan Fuller, William Bond, William de Haas, Israel Shrieve, Elisha Porter, Moses Hazen, John McDuffee, T. Alden, Seth Reed, Anthony Wayne, John Stark, James Reed, John Greateon, William Maxwell, Abner Morgan, Edward Antill, Thomas Poor, Charles Burrell, Joseph Vose, John Patterson, Arthur St. Clair, David Rhea, Jonathan Loring.

What a beadrill of honor!

Letter from Lord Howe.

[See p. 894.]

EAGLE, 30th August, 1776.

SIR,— Understanding by your letter that the only doubt of the propriety of your going to Philadelphia is by your conversation with General Washington removed, I do not see occasion to give you farther trouble, but to recommend the prosecuting of your journey, as you were pleased on that condition to propose. Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,

HOWE.

GENERAL SULLIVAN.

I N D E X.

I N D E X.

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E R R A T A.

The reader is requested to make the following corrections:—

Page 246, line 24, for "Ingraham's" read "Ingram's."

" " after line 31, insert "The subject was referred to the Standing Committee, with full powers."

" 446, line 28, insert "limited" after "former."

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298.

342 notes -

Mr. 15. 6. 8

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